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[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL V OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

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Papers presented at the Madras Congress in January, 1978

ISSUED

IN MEMORY OF

Late Shri N LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO

Govt Epigraphist for India (Retd)



15-5-1898—14-1-1979

[Honorary Fellow of the Epigraphical Society of India from]

EDITORIAL

We have great pleasure in presenting to the world of scholars Volume Five of Purābhilēkha Patrikā, the journal of the Epigraphical Society of India The publication of this issue has been made possible by a generous grant from the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi The Editorial Board places on record its deep debt of gratitude to the Council authorities

We thank the senior as well as junior scholars whose articles adorn the pages of this journal We hope to achieve before long our objective of bringing out more than one issue of this journal per year

Our thanks are due to the Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing house for printing this Volume within a short span of time

K V RAMESH
(For and on behalf of the Editorial Board)

1 THE DATE OF THE MALHARA PLATES OF ADITYARAJA

V V Mirashi

In 1974 an odd plate of a copper-plate grant was brought to the Central Museum, Nagpur, by the Marketing Officer of Achalapui in the Amraoti District of Vidarbha for decipherment The other plates of the set were not forthcoming, but, after herculean efforts, they were traced seveial months later, some to Achalapur and one to the village Malhārā, a few miles away The grant was edited by me fiist in Marathi in the *Annual* (*Vārshika*) of the Vidarbha Samśōdhan Maṇḍal, Nagpur, for 1975, pp 1-17, and next in English in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol LIV, pp 1 ff In my article I tried to show that the plates belonged to the pre-Vākāṭaka period, and recorded the earliest grant so far known, discovered in South India

The plates state that in the Muṇḍa family, which was a worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu) and performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice, there was born a Brāhmana named Sōma of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, who took delight in the study of all the four Vēdas He was followed by Vardhana, who is described as follows - "Regular performance of religious duties and observances, righteous conduct, Vedic learning, hospitality to guests and austerities—this was his mode of life" His son was Muṇḍa, who was always consecrated for sacrifices and engrossed in the performance of vows, and never had his hand tainted by the acceptance of any gifts Indra is said to have showered wealth during his sacrifices This is evidently to be under stood in the sense that, though he himself accepted no gifts, people spontaneously made all arrangements for his sacrifices and supplied the necessary provisions for them He brought prestige and fame to the family, which became known as Munda-vamśa after him

None of these three Brāhmanas who are eulogised in the beginning of the grant ever wielded any royal power They were all pious and learned Brāhmanas who were always engrossed in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and never cared for pelf or power The next member of the family was Rāshṭra—mahārāja, son of the aforementioned Muṇḍa He is said to have obtained a royal title (*rāja-śabda*) by his merits The circumstances in which and the means by which he obtained a royal status are not mentioned in the grant His successor Rāja-kula-mahārāja is said to have made offerings of the lives of his enemies to the fire of fighting which had flames in the form of the warriors' spears This suggests that he obtained a memorable victory in some battle or battles He was probably the king who per formed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice with which the Muṇḍa family is credited His son was Ādityarāja, who issued the present plates recording the grant of some villages to certain Brāhmanas The purpose of the grant was the acquisition of religious merit and fame by the donor and his parents The

present grant is written in elegant and almost faultless Sanskrit and is incised in box headed characters Its date is given at the end in Prakrit as the (regnal) year 2, the season *gimha* (summer), the fortnight 2 and the day 10 (and) 5 The plates were issued from Vānakhēta, which was probably Ādityarāja's capital This place is probably identical with Vānakhēdapur in the adjoining Akola District The other villages mentioned in the grant can also be satisfactorily identified in the Amraoti and Akola districts So this grant undoubtedly belongs to Vidarbha

Though the grant is not dated in any era, it can be referred to the pre-Vākātaka age on the following grounds —

(1) The Munda family is described in the grant as *Aśvamēdha-yajin*, *i e* the performer of an Aśvamēdha sacrifice No royal family could have performed such a sacrifice in Vidarbha during the age of the Vākatakas as their supremacy was then unchallenged in the country The sacrifice went out of vogue after that age No king of Vidarbha is known to have performed it in later times

(2) The grant contains a season date Such dates are noticed in the records of the early centuries of the Christian era A few, no doubt, occur in those of the Vākāṭaka period, but none are noticed in any records of the post-Vākātaka age

(3) The date of the present plates is recorded in Prakrit All inscriptions of the first two centuries of the Christian era are written in Prakrit Later, the preliminary portion was written in Sanskrit and the formal portion in Prakrit This is noticed in the Basim plates of the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti II The present record was evidently drafted by a learned Brāhmana and so it is written in elegant Sanskrit It seems to have been sent later to the record office for entering its date This was done in Prakrit as was the custom at the time All records of the Vākātaka age in Vidarbha are written completely in Sanskrit There is not a single Prakrit word therein So the present grant must be referred to an earlier period

As the grant cannot refer to the Vākātaka period and as its features mentioned above clearly indicate that it cannot be of the post-Vākāṭaka age, we must refer it to the period between the fall of the Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Vākātakas From the Purānas we learn that the Andhras (*i e* the Sātavāhanas) ruled for 460 years If they had risen to power in *circa* 230 B C soon after the death of Aśōka, they may have dis appeared in *circa* A D 230 From the Tai hālā hoard of coins we learn that they conti nued to hold Vidarbha to the last, *i e* tc the end of the reign of the last Sātavāhan king Puḷumāvi Their downfall seems tc have been followed by chaos and confusioı in Vidarbha as in other countries under theı rule This led to the rise of new rulin families there The Munda family seems t have come forward to establish peace an order in Vidarbha The *Manusmriti*[1] er joins that the twice-born people (such as th Brāhmaṇas) should take up arms when rel gion is in danger The contemporary son (Muṇḍa seems to have responded to this ca of duty He changed the sacrificial ladle fc the sword and soon established peace an order in Vidarbha He then assumed tl significant name of *Rāshtra-Mahārāja* as l had come forward for the protection of tl *rāshtra* His successor Rājakula-Mahārā seems to have performed the Aśvamēdl sacrifice and thereby proclaimed his supr macy in the country His successor w

dityarāja, who made the present grant in e second year of his reign As no other embers of this family are known, Ādityaja seems to have been overthrown soon ereafter by the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna who invaded Vidarbha in *circa* A D 270 e total period of the rule of this family ems to have been about 40 years (from A D 0 to A D 270)

Ajay Mitra Shastri does not agree with is interpretation of the present grant He is critically examined our view in the present *Journal*, Vol IV, pp 30 ff He would ace the rule of this Munda family in one the two gaps, *viz* (1) that between the cond quarter of the sixth century, which arked the end of the rule of Vishnuindin Mādhavavarman I, who occupied idarbha after the death of Vākātaka Harisēna, and A D 573, the date of the Kalauri feudatory Svāmirāja in his Nagardhan ates and (2) that between the aforementioned date, A D 573, and the occupation of idarbha by Chalukya Pulakēśin II some me before A D 634, the date of the Aihoḷe scription He does not accept as valid the asons adduced above for fixing the date of e Malhārā plates in the pre-Vākātaka riod His objections are not unanswerble[2], but we prefer to examine critically his eories, and show how they are untenable

The first theory — The Munda family ourished in the period between the cond half of the sixth century A D and D 573, the date of the Nagardhan lates

Shastri admits that Harishēna closed his ign in A D 500, and that Vidarbha was ereafter occupied by Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman I, who closed his reign in e second quarter of the sixth century A D. He has not given any definite date for the latter event We have discussed in the last volume of this *Journal* the question of the reign period of this Mādhavavarman in the light of evidence now available It is probably from A D 487 to A D 528 Thereafter Vidarbha came under the rule of the feudatory prince Svāmirāja, whose known date is A D 573 Svāmirāja does not mention his suzerain, but he must have been the contemporary of the Kalachuri king of Māhishmatī[4] We have shown elsewhere from the recently discovered Mātwan plates of Traikūtaka Vikramasēna that there was a political revolution in Western Mahārāshtra in A D 533, when the Traikūtaka king was overthrown by the Katachchuris[5] The Katachchuri king, probably Krishnarāja, defeated Vikramasēna and occupied Western Mahārāshtra including North Konkan Krishnarāja's coins have also been found in several places in Vidarbha such as Dhāmori and Betul So after conquering Western Mahārāshtra he must have soon extended his power to Vidarbha, where there was no powerful ruler after the death of Vishnukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I in *circa* A D 528 The exact date of his occupation of Vidarbha is not known, but it may be approximately taken to be A D 540 He did not himself rule over Vidarbha, but appointed his feudatory, either Svāmirāja or his father whose name is unknown, for the purpose Kalachuri occupation of Vidarbha is indicated not only by the finds of Krishnarāja's coins in several places of Vidarbha but also by the use of the Ābhīra (or the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi) era which had been current in Krishnarāja's home province of Anūpa

So the gap between the end of the rule of Mādhavavarman I (*circa* A D 528) and the commencement of the rule of the Kalachuri

feudatory in Vidarbha (*circa* A D 540) comes to 12 years Is it likely that the Munda kings Rāshṭra-mahārāja, Rājakula-mahārāja and Ādityarāja ruled in this brief period of a dozen years? They not only established peace and order in Vidarbha but also performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice Is all this possible in this brief period? Shastri's first hypothesis is thus clearly inadmissible

The second theory — The Muṇḍa family ruled in Vidarbha in the interval between A D 573, the date of the Nagardhan plates of the Kalachuri feudatory Svāmirāja, and the occupation of Vidarbha by Pulakēśin II some time before A D 634, the date of his Aihoḷe inscription

We do not know how long after A D 573 Svāmirāja or his descendants continued to rule in Vidarbha As shown above, they were probably feudatories of the Katachchuris The latter maintained their supremacy in Mahārāshtra till about A D 620, the approximate date of the defeat and overthrow of the last Early Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja by Pulakēśin II Pulakēśin then became the lord of the three Mahārāshtras, which evidently included Vidarbha Svāmirāja's descendants probably continued to hold Vidarbha till this date Thereafter, the Chalukya conqueror seems to have placed his own nominee in charge of Vidarbha

For the subsequent history of Vidarbha we have to rely on two copper-pate grants, *viz* (1) the Akola plates[8] dated Śaka 615 (A D 693) and (2) the Multai plates[9] dated Śaka 631 (A D 705), both of the Rāshtrakūta ...ce Nannarāja *alias* Yuddhāsura They ...he following genealogy of the reigning

Durgarāja
|
Govindarāja
|
Svāmikarāja
|
Nannarāja

(known dates A D 693 and 70...

Nannarāja seems to have ruled *circa* A D 690 to *circa* A D 715 ... twenty years as the approximate durat... a reign, we may place his great-granc... Durgarāja in *circa* A D 630-650 His ... sion, therefore comes close to A D 62... approximate date of the defeat and ove... of the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāj... may, therefore, have been the prince ... in charge of Vidarbha by Pulakēśin af... added that country to his dominion

Nannarāja does not acknowledg... suzerainty of any contemporary ruler ... grants, but his ancestor's submission to... kēśin II seems to be indicated by his ... tion of the Śaka era in dating his gran... is well known that the Early Chalukyas ... the Śaka era in dating their records ... as Svāmirāja adopted the Ābhīra e... dating his Nagardhan plates becaus... suzerain Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja used it ... home province, so Durgarāja seems to ... done in adopting the Śaka era for his ... as his suzerain Pulakēśin II was usin... Karnāṭaka His successors seem to ... followed him in this respect

So the Muṇḍa family cannot be a... modated in this period also We cann... suppose that the Muṇḍas and the afor... tioned feudatory Rāshtrakūṭas were ... in different parts of Vidarbha in the ... period, for the grants of both have...

found in the same part of the country—the Malhārā plates recording the grant of the Munda king Ādityarāja in the Amraoti district, and the two grants of the Rāshtrakūta prince Nannarāja in the adjoining Akola and Betul districts

Besides, we find that the Muṇda family dated its grants in regnal years This would be inexplicable if it flourished in the post-Vākāṭaka period If it had succeeded Svāmirāja, it would have used the Ābhīra era like him If it was placed in charge of Vidarbha by Pulakēśin, it would have used the śaka era like him We find that it did neither of these, but dated its records in regnal years Regnal years are noticed in early inscriptions when the different eras were not in vogue When an era became current in any part of the country, it was adopted even by an invader unless he was accustomed to use another era in his home province This is shown by several instances in the history of Mahārāshṭra The Traikūṭakas who followed the Ābhīras used the latter's era[11] which had become well established in Northern Mahārāshṭra and Konkan The Sēndrakas did the same when they occupied Southern Gujarat[12] If the Mundas had come to power soon after Svāmirāja, they would have used the Ābhīra era like the latter If they had been the feudatories of the Early Chalukyas, they would have used the Śaka era of their suzerains as the Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha seem to have done In no case they would have dated their records in their regnal years if they flourished in the post-Vākāṭaka age There is not a single instance of a regnal year in any grant of Mahārāshtra, including Vidarbha and Konkan, in the sixth and subsequent centuries Add to this the dating in season, fortnight and day[13], and the use of Prakrit in recording the date seen in the Malhārā plates[14] These should clinch the issue They should leave no doubt that those plates are of the pre-Vākāṭaka age

We have placed the Munda royal family in the period A D 230-270 It may therefore, be asked if there is any evidence of a political revolution in this period We have already stated that according to the Purānas, the Sātavāhanas ceased to rule in *circa* A D 230 This has now been corroborated by some new evidence which has recently come to notice and which we now proceed to state

There were three main provinces of the Sātavāhana kingdom in Mahārāshṭra, *viz* (1) North Konkan, (2) Western Mahārāshtra, and (3) Vidarbha In all these provinces there was a political revolution in *circa* A D 230 as shown below

North Konkan —The Purānas give a list of thirty Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings The last of the kings whose inscriptions have been found in North Konkan is Māḍharīputra Śakasēna[15] After his reign there seems to have been a political revolution there An inscription in a cave at Kanheri mentions the mother of the Yuvarāja Khada-Nāga-Sātaka (*i e* Skanda-Nāga-Sātakarni)[16] A closely similar description of a queen occurs in a pillar inscription at Vanavāsī (North Kanara District), which belongs to the reign of Hāritīputra Vinhukaḍa Sātakarni[17] It shows that the rule of this Sātakarṇi extended from Vanavāsī to Kanheri Thereafter the country round Vanavāsī was conquered by the Kadambas, while that in North Konkan was occupied by the Ābhīras, who rose to power in A D 250 This, therefore, is

the date of the second political revolution in North Konkan

Western Mahārāhtra —In this province we do not get any inscriptions or coins of any Sātavāhana king after Yajñaśrī, as the centre of Sātavāhana power seems to have been shifted to the Andhra country where we find Vijaya Sātakarṇi, the successor of Mādhariputra Śakasēna ruling from his capital Vijayapurī [modern Nāgārjunakonda] [18] We have, however, some hoards of Kshatrapa coins discovered at places like Karhād and Rānjangaon We cannot, however, infer from them that the rule of the Kshatrapas had extended to western Mahārāshtra Similar hoards have been found in Vidarbha also As the Ābhīras and the Vākāṭakas had no currency of their own, they seem to have allowed these Kshatrapa coins to circulate in their territories

There is, however, one coin which tells a different tale It is a silver coin of Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta found at Indore, which Mrs Gokhale has recently published [19] Īśvaradatta's coins have indeed been found previously at several places such as Sarvānia in the former Banswada State [Rajputana], Vāsō in the former Junāgadh State and Rānjangaon in the Poona District, but unlike the coins of the Western Kshatrapas found with them, they were not known to have had any year of the Śaka era incised behind the ruler's ear on the obverse Rapson and others noticed only the unit figures one or two denoted by small horizontal lines on the obverse signifying the first or the second regnal year, which was also stated explicitly in words in the legend on the reverse of the coins [20] Īśvaradatta was, therefore, supposed to have ruled for one or two years in a gap in the dates of the Western Kshatrapas

Bhagvanlal Indraji placed Īśvaradatta in the gap between Śaka 171 and 176, for which no coins had been recovered till then He also suggested that Īśvaradatta was the founder of the Traikūtaka (i e the Ābhīra or Kalachuri) era, commencing in A D 250 This theory was disproved later by the discovery of the coins of Kshatrapa Vijayasēna which filled the gap Rapson placed Īśvaradatta in the gap between Śaka 158 and 160, for which no Kshatrapa coins were known[21] But D R Bhandarkar found a coin dated Śaka 160 of Yaśōdāman, which rendered Rapson's theory untenable Bhandarkar himself suggested the gap between Śaka 110 and 113 as the period of Īśvaradatta's rule, but Mrs Gokhale has noticed a coin dated Śaka 110 in the Rānjangaon hoard,[22] So that gap also is virtually nonexistent

The Indore coin has put an end to this wild goose chase of Īśvaradatta's reign-period In none of the coins of Īśvaradatta deciphered so far any year of the Śaka era was noticed recorded on the obverse behind the Kshatrapa's ear In fact, Rapson stated that only 'the year of his reign' was recorded there which was also stated in words in the legend on the reverse[23] The present Indore coin, however, has clear symbols denoting the year 154 behind the Kshatrapa's ear on the obverse Like similar years on other Western Kshatrapa coins, this year must be referred to the Śaka era and becomes equivalent to A D 232-233 Similar Śaka years must have been incised on other coins of Īśvaradatta If we examine closely the obverse of coins Nos 472 and 475 in Plate XIII of Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras*, etc , we shall notice the symbol for fifty behind the king's head The legend on their reverse clearly mentioned the first regnal year So coins No 472 and

475 had the date Śaka 151 on the obverse and the regnal year first (Prathama) on the reverse The Indore coin has the Śaka year 154 on the obverse It must be having the regnal year 4 on the reverse Mrs Gokhale, however, read *varshē d* on the reverse, which suggested the second (*dvitīya*) regnal year At my request she kindly sent me a copy of the photograph of the Indore coin, which is reproduced here

It will be noticed that the letter following *varshē* on the reverse is clearly *cha* So the regnal year was undoubtedly *chaturtha* or fourth If Śaka 154 was the fourth regnal year of Īśvaradatta, he must have commenced his reign in Śaka 151 or A D 229-30

We do not know where exactly Īśvaradatta was ruling His coins have been noticed in the hoards of Kshatrapa coins discovered in Kāthiāwāḍ, Rajputana, Gujarat and Mahārāshtra His title *Mahākshatrapa* shows that like the western Kshatrapas, he acknowledged the suzerainty of the contemporary Kushāna king, But, unlike them, he was not a Śaka or Scythian His name is purely Indian Mrs Gokhale noticed coins of Mahākshatrapa Dāmasēna bearing Śaka dates from 149 to 156 in the Rānjangaon hoard There were coins dated Śaka 150 to 155 of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasēna in the Sarvānā hoard[24] So Īśvaradatta could not have been ruling north of the Narmadā in that period He was probably holding Northern Mahārāshṭra, from where he raided Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāḍ, which he seems to have occupied for a few years Hence his coins have been found mixed with those of the Western Kshatrapas Mrs Gokhale identified him with the Ābhīra king (*rājan*) Īśvarasēna, son of Śivadatta, of the Nāsik cave inscription[25], but this identification has no basis *Mahakshatrapa* Īśvaradatta of the coins is not likely to be identical with *Rājan* Īśvarasēna of the Nāsik cave inscription The former was ruling as the satrap of the contemporary Kushāna king, while the latter did not acknowledge anybody's suzerainty As we have seen, the former was ruling at least in the period Śaka 151 to 154 (A D 229 to 232) The latter was the founder of the Ābhīra era commencing in A D 250

There were thus two political revolutions in Western Mahārāshtra in that age In A D 229 Īśvaradatta seems to have conquered Western Mahārāshṭra from the Sātavāhanas Like the Western Kshatrapas of Malwa and Kāthiāwād, he did not assume a higher title than *Mahākshatrapa* or Satrap of the contemporary Kushāṇa king Later, he seems to have raided the country north of the Narmadā, which he seems to have occupied for a few years So his coins have been found in the hoards discovered at Sarvāniā and Vāsō Either he or his successor seems to have been overthrown by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, son of Śivadatta This second revolution seems to have occurred in A D 250 Īśvarasēna or his successors (there were ten of them) extended their rule to North Konkan, Gujarat, Khandesh and the Anūpa country [modern Nemad District][16] This is shown by the spread of the Ābhīra era founded by Īśvarasēna to these parts of the country As we have shown elsewhere, ten Ābhīra kings ruled for 167 years The name of one of them, *viz* Rudrasēna, and that of his family, *viz* *Kathika* have become known from an inscription on a casket discovered in the excavation at Dēvnī Mōri[17]

As in Western Mahārāshtra so in Vidarbha, there were two revolutions The first

occurred in *circa* A D 230 after the death of the last Sātavāhana king, *viz* Pulumāvi There were then confusion and chaos in Vidarbha Then a son of the pious and learned Brāhmana Munda come forward and established peace and order in the country He thereafter assumed the significant name of *Rāshtra-mahārāja* as he had come to the rescue of the *rāshtra* He was followed by his son Rājakula-mahārāja, who performed an Asvamēdha sacrifice to proclaim his supremacy in the country His son was Ādityarāja, who seems to have had a short reign for he was soon overthrown by the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna I The reigns of these three Munda kings covered a period of about forty years [A D 230-270]

It was believed till now that the Vākāṭakas occupied Vidarbha in *circa* A D 250 Vindhyaśakti I was supposed to have raided Vidarbha probably from Vallūra, which was his home town [28] The discovery of the Malhārā plates has necessited a slight revision of this view It seems that it was Pravarasēna I not Vindhyaśakti I, who founded the Vākāṭaka kingdom of Vidarbha Vindhyaśakti s name occurs only in one inscription, *viz* that in cave XVI at Ajantā,[29] as the progenitor of the family It is not mentioned in the land-grants of the Vākāṭakas, which invariably commence with the description of the sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I [30] The Purānas also mention Pravarasēna as the founder of the Vākātaka kingdom of Vidarbha [31] He seems to have defeated Ādityarāja of the Munda family in *circa* A D 270, and laid the foundation of the Vākātaka kingdom which was destined to have a brilliant future His father Vindhyaśakti I was, no doubt, an intrepid warrior who won laurels in several battles and performed many sacrifices as mentioned in the Ajantā inscription, but he did not probably come to the throne in Vidarbha His son Pravarasēna I was the first ruler of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Vidarbha as stated in the Purānas and suggested by Vākātaka inscriptions which invariably begin with the description of his Vedic sacrifices including four Aśvamēdhas

The date of the Malhārā plates of the Munda king Ādityarāja is thus *circa* A D 270 This is the earliest known copper-plate grant discovered so far in South India It shows that the Vedic religion also was flourishing under the rule of the Sātavāhanas It is of unique importance for the pre Vākātaka history of Vidarbha

Foot--Notes

1 Śastram dvi-jātibhir=grāhyam dharmō yatr-oparudhyatē I *Manusmriti* VIII, 340

2 Shastri has shown that season dates occur in some Vākāṭaka records and even the Māndhal plates of Prithivishēṇa II (close of the fifth cen A D) show 'influence of Prakrit' (not Prakrit passages) These can at most indicate that the Malhārā plates may be of the Vākāṭaka age But he has himself admitted that the Muṇḍa family could not have flourished in the Vākāṭaka age The above mentioned features of the Vākāṭaka records do not prove that the Malhārā plates are of the post Vākāṭaka age

3 *IESI*, IV, pp 2 ff

4 *CII*, IV, p xlvii

5 Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp 125 ff

6 *CII*, IV, p clxxxii His copper coins have recently been found at the Elephanta Caves near Bombay

7 *CII*, IV p l

8 These plates were actually found at the village Sangalooda in the Akola District *EI*, XXIX, p 109

9 *IA*, XVIII, p 230 ff The Tivarakhed plates of this king, dated Śaka 553 (A D 631) have been shown to be spurious See our *Studies in Indology*, I, pp 25 ff

10 Dates calculated on the basis of an average reign-period are only approximate So this date may well be A D 620

11 *CII*, IV, pp 22 ff

12 *Ibid*, IV, pp 110 ff

13 In the Vākāṭaka age the prevailing custom was to cite the lunar month like Chaitra, the bright or dark fortnight and the *tithi* in regnal dates The season-dates are very rarely noticed They are not noticed in any post Vākātaka records

14 The Malhārā plates do not show 'mere influence of Prakrit' but give a complete date in Prakrit This is not noticed in any post-Vākāṭaka record

15 *ASWI*, V, pp 79 f

16 *Ibid*, p 86, Rapson, *BMC* (Andhra), p lii

17 *EI*, *XXXIV*, pp 333 ff

18 *Ibid*, XXXVI, p 274

19 *Vārshika* (Annual) of the Marāṭhawāḍā Samśhōdhan Manḍal for 1976

20 *BMC* (*Andhra etc*), pp 124 f

21 *Ibid*, pp cxxxiii f

22 *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp 27 f

23 *BMC* (*Andhra* etc), p 124

24 *ASIAR*, (1913-14), p 245

25 *CII*, IV, pp 1 f

26 The reading in *DKA*, p 46, giving the period as 67 years is probably wrong That in *e Vayu* which gives it as *sapta-shashṭi-śatān īha* (167 years) seems to be correct *CII*, IV, p xxvi

27 Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, IV, pp 120 ff

28 Some scholars maintained that the Vākāṭakas had their original home in North India, but this is incorrect *CII*, V, pp xi f The recent discovery of the first plate of the Indore copper-plate grant shows that they extended their rule north of the Narmadā first in the reign of Pravarasēna II

29 *CII*, V, pp 103 f

30 See *e g* *CII*, V, pp 10 f

31 See *DKA*, p 50

Vindhyaśakti-sutaś=ch=āpi Pravīrō nāma vīryavān ।
bhōkshyatē cha samāsh-shashṭim Purikām Chanakām cha vai॥
yakshyatē vājapēyaiś=cha samāpta-vara-dakshiṇaiḥ ।
tasya putrāś=cha chatvārō bhavishyanti nar ādhipāḥ ॥

2 EPIGRAPHICAL HOWLERS

D C Sircar

A copper-plate grant of king of Śūrapāla I [c 850-58 A D], son of Dēvapāla [c 812-50 A D] of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar, was dug up in a village in the Mirzapur District, U P, and was secured by the U P State Museum, Lucknow [1] A note on the inscription appeared in the *Saṁpupā [Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U P]*, Lucknow, Nos 5-6, pp 67 70 According to this note, the inscription registers the grant of some villages in favour of the Śaiv-āchāryas of Vārāṇasī at the behest of Queen Mahēshō-bhaṭṭārikā by king Śūrapāla, born of Queen Bhavadēvī, the *Dūtaka* or executor of the grant being Yudhishṭhira and the recorder being *Sāmanta* Dakkadāsa-Vairōchanadāsa On an examination of the inscription, however, it was found that the above notice of the record contains the following errors

[1] Śūrapāla's queen had nothing to do with the grant and is not mentioned in the epigraph while *Mahēshō-bhaṭṭārikā* is a wrong reading for *Māhatā bhaṭṭārikā* to whom reference is made below

[2] The name of Śūrapāla's mother, at whose request the grant was really made, was not Bhavadēvī but Māhatā

[3] The executor of the charter was not Yudhishthira but Balavarman

[4] All the villages were not granted in favour of the Śaiv-āchāryas Of the four gift villages, viz Āmragartikā, V. nt or Vāsantikā, Kulaputra or Kulaputrak nd Navallikā, the first and second were gran to the god Māhaṭēśvara installed by the q en mother at Vārāṇasī, the other two h ng been granted in favour of the Śaiv-āch yas probably in charge of the worship c the said god

[5] Dakkadāsa and Vairōchanadā are two different persons who are stat to have engraved the charter

The text of verse 14 of the inscri on runs as follows —

Śrīmad-Durllabharāja-rāja-tanayā śri-M t
ākhy= ābha =

dēvī tasya kara - graha - praṇayini śl ya
dvitiy= eva th

pratyētavya-pativratā guṇa kathāh Śail aj
Ārun at

Sāvitrīr = api yā chakāra charitaih iy
āmṛita-syandil h

It is strange that the name Bhav. vi has been imagined to be mentioned ir he two words *abhavad= dēvī* [literally, 'be ne the queen'] of the passage *śrī-Māhat-āk* = *ābhavad= dēvī tasya* in the first half c he verse, which tells us that the lady n ed Māhaṭā became the queen of Dēva la

In the same way, verse 31 which ds as follows

Śrīmān śrī Śūrapālēna nṛipa-chandramasā kṛitaḥ[1]

Harir= Yudhishthirēn= ēva Balavarmm= ātra dūtakh[1]

simply says that king Śūrapāla made Balavarman the *Dūtaka* of the charter just as Yudhishṭhira had sent Hari [i e Vāsudēva-Krishna] as his *Dūtaka* or messenger to the Kaurava court in his eagerness to settle the Kuru-Pāndava dispute An equally strange fact, as in the case of the creation of the personal name Bhavadēvī out of the words *abhavad= dēvī*, is that the words *Yudhishthirēn= ēva* [i e 'just as by Yudhishṭhira'] have been imagined to contain the *Dūtaka's* name in spite of the words *Balavarmm-ātra dūtakah* [i e Balavarman is made the *Dūtaka* in respect of this grant] as well as of the fact that the same Balavarman, the ruler of the Vyāghratatī-maṇḍala, is already known to have been the executor of the Nālandā plate[2] of Śūrapāla's father

Likewise the dual number in the expression *Dakkadāsa-Vairōchanadāsābhyām* shows that Dakkadāsa and Vairōchanadāsa were two different persons so that a single personal name cannot be traced in it

Recently a copper-plate grant of king Balavarman, who was the great-grandson of Harjaravarman [829 A D] of the Sālastambha dynasty of Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa and flourished about the close of the ninth century A D , was discovered at the village of Ulubari in the Darrang District of Assam In May, 1977, a note on the inscription appeared in the *Assam Tribune*, a daily newspaper published from Gauhati, and its authors state that the charter registers the grant of a village called Pātidikkūra which was situated in the Mañjai-vishaya of the Uttarakūla, i e the region lying to the north of the Brahmaputrā river Fortunately, the face of the plate containing the reference to the gift village was illustrated along with the article, and the passage in question could be easily read as *Uttarakūlē Mañjai-vishay-āntahpāti-Dikkūrato = pakrishta-dhānya dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmau* Thus the name of the locality where the gift land was situated was not Pātidikkūra but Dikkūra, the letter, *pāti* really forming the concluding part of the previous expression *Vishay āntahpāti* [i e 'situated in the district of'] generally found in hundreds of epigraphic records discovered in all parts of India including a large number from Assam itself It is strange that the authors of the article in the *Assam Tribune* do not appear to have noted that the expression *vishay-āntahpāti* occurs in many records edited by P N Bhattacharya in his *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, e g at pp 98 [text line 52), 111, 122 [text line 35], 136 [text line 34], 154 [text line 31] Even in the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, the donor of the Ulubari plates, the expression used as an adjective of the word *bhūmih* in the feminine gender is *Dijjinnā vishay-āntahpātinī*[3] while the same king's Howraghat plates[4] have the passage *Varāsepattana - vishay - āntahpāti - Bappadēvapātakē d= apakrishta - dhanya-dvi - sahasr - ōtpattika - bhumau* which is exactly similar to that in the Ulubari plates

As regards the meaning 'inferior [land]' [i e *nikrishṭa*] applied to the word *apakrishta* in the context of the passage quoted above from the Ulubari plates, reference may also be made to the interpretation of the same word in the Gachtal plates of Gōpāla in the

Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol XVIII, 1968, p 54 It appears rather strange that recent writers do not know that the absurdity of such an interpretation was pointed out nearly half a century ago by P N Bhattacharya in his well-known *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, p 107, note 7 He rightly pointed out that the word *apakrishta* in the said context occurs in most of the charters issued by kings of the Brahmapāla dynasty and that, by making grants of land of an inferior quality, the donors could hardly expect any religious merit at all though that was exactly the avowed purpose for making such grants of land Bhattacharya suggested on the basis of the said word that the land was taken out from the possession of others for the purpose of creating a rent-free holding That, however, the word *apakrishta* means 'taken out [i e separated] [from the village or district]' seems to be clear from passages like *Dikkūratō=pakrishta* in the Ulubari plates and *Bappadēvapātakād=apakrishta*, in the Howraghat plates, both issued by king Balavarman and quoted above,[5] in which it is not compounded with but separated from the previous expression ending in the fifth case-ending or *tas* in the same sense We are therefore not inclined to accept Bhattacharya's interpretation and would suggest that the idea was to indicate the separate status of the gift land which was made a rent-free holding forming no longer any part of the revenue-paying areas of the village or district While editing the Howraghat plates two decades ago, we observed that "the piece of land was singled out from Bappadēvapātaka" This idea of separation is emphasised in the records of certain areas of our country by expressions like *samasta rājakīyānām=a-hasta prakshēpaniya, rājakīyānām=ananguli-prēkshaniya, rāja-rājapurushair=apy=ananguli-nirdēśy* etc [6] In a few areas, the idea is more explici indicated mentioning the gift land as *vish yād=uddhrita-pinda* [i e as 'a piece tak out of the district] [to which it belonged which is obviously the same as *vishayād apakrishta*

The learned editor of the Gachtal pla of Gōpāla assigns the record to the eleven century A D following the views of earl writers including P N Bhattacharya[8] and al K L Barua[9] who placed the reigns of t rules of the Brahmapāla dynasty in the foll ing periods [1] Brahmapāla, c 985-1000 A [2] his son Ratnapāla, c 1000 30 A D, [3] l grandson Indrapāla, c 1030-55 A D, [4] his s Gōpāla, c 1055-75 A D, [5] his son Harshapā c 1075-1090 A D, and [6] his son Dharm pāla, c 1090-1115 A D As regards the re of 30 years ascribed to Ratnapāla by Barua, seems to have missed Bhattacharya's corre tion of the date of the same king's Soalkuc plates from his original reading of the 26 regnal year to 36th regnal year [10] Howev what is strange is that the editor of t Gachtal plates, which refer to Indrapāl marriage with Rājyadēvī of the Rāshṭrakū family, thinks that the said matrimon alliance proves how Kāmarūpa played a p in the tripartite struggle among the Rāshṭ kūtas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Pāl of Bengal What a great pity! Even a scho boy is expected to know that the imper houses of the Rāshṭrakūṭas aud Gurja Pratihāras ceased to rule respectively befo the last quarter of the tenth century a during the first quarter of the eleventh con derably before the middle of the eleven century to which the editor would ascr Indrapāla's reign During the period question, tha Pāla kings Mahīpāla I [c 97

1027 A D] and Nayapāla [c 1027-43 A D] of Bengal and Bihar were struggling respectively with the Kalachuri kings Gāngeya c 1015-41 A D] and Karna [1041-71 A D] of Tripurī

It also strikes us as strange that the editor fails miserably to note that the most significant contribution of the Gachtal copper-plate inscription is the light it throws on the chronology of the kings, all of whom are now found to have ruled about seventy years earlier than the periods so long assigned to them on palaeographical grounds

The following stanza occurs in the Gachtal plates in the description of Ratnapāla —

Dōrddarppa-durllalitam= ājishu Gauda-rājam
yō Rājyapālam= avajitya bhuja-dvayēna'
nanyē gajēndra-mada-chandraka-sāndra-tōyām
Mandākinīm= api Kalindasutaṁ= chakāra''

This shows that king Ratnapāla of Assam defeated the Gauda King Rājyapāla and, in the course of the conflict, reached the bank of the Mandākinī [Ganges] in the heart of the Gauda country Now, King Rājyapāla of Bengal ruled in c 908-40 A D, an inscription of his great-grandson being dated in 1026 A D[11] Thus his Assam contemporary Ratnapāla, whose reign is assigned to c 1000-40 A D [better probably c 1000-40 A D], must have ruled about the first half of the tenth century, say c 920-60 A D, about three quarters of a century earlier

Likewise, the description of Indrapāla in the Gachtal plates contains the following passage

Mādyad-Gauda-vimardda-bhujah - Śrīchandra-sūnuḥ-svayam
parptah samgara - sīmni Vanga - nripatiḥ Kalyānachandrō balī'

showing that Indrapāla, whose reign is assigned to c 1030-55 A D [better probably c 1040-65 A D], was a contemporary of the Vanga king Kalyānachandra, the son of Śrīchandra Since Kalyānachandra's grandson Gōvindachandra was defeated by Rājēndrachōḷa's forces shortly before 1025 A D,[12] the reigns of these two Bengal kings may be assigned respectively to c 975-95 A D and 925-75 A D, so that Kalyānachandra's contemporary Indrapāla must have ruled not in c 1040-65 A D, but about 660-90 A D, nearly three quarters of a century earlier

Another important passage in the Gachtal plates that has escaped the attention of the editor is the following in the description of the donor of the grant, i e King Gōpāla —

tasy= ābhavan= nripavarasya Hadappak = ēti
punyā purī suni ipatēr= Amarāvat= īva''

This shows that King Gōpāla had his capital at the city of Hadappakā which appears to be the same as Hadappēśvara [named after the Īśvara or Śivalinga worshipped at Hadappā or Hadappakā] which had been previously the capital of the kings of the Sālastambha dynasty Inscriptions of the 25th and 36th regnal years of Ratnapāla[13] as well as the two charters of Indrapāla[14] show that the said kings were ruling from the city of Durjayā, but the Saratbari plates of Ratnapāla, issued in the king's 12th regnal year and recently examined by me, speak of the city of Haḍappakā as the king's capital Thus Durjayā seems to have been founded by Ratnapāla and remained the capital of the family from the later years of that king's

reign till at least the reign of his grandson and successor Indrapāla Under what circumstances, Durjayā, located by scholars near Gauhati, was discarded in favour of Hadappakā or Hadappēśvara near Tezpur cannot be determined without further evidence

It should not be forgotten that the determination of the historical value of an inscription is an essential part of an epigraphist's work

[1] See now Sircar in *Journ Bih Res Soc*, Vol LXI, pp 131ff

[2] *EI*, XVII, pp 310 ff

[3] P N Bhattacharya, *op cit*, p 78, text line 33

[4] *EI*, Vol XXXII, pp 290-91, text lines 36 37

[5] Cf *Pandarī-bhūmitō= pakrishṭa* in the Guakuchi plates of Indrapāla (P N Bhattacharya, *op cit*, pp 136-37)

[6] See *CII*, III, p 171, note 1

[7] *EI*, XXXI, pp 28 (text line 22), 283, 288 (text line 24), 290 (text line 36)

[8] *Op cit*, p xiv

[9] *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p 149

[10] *Op cit*, p 210

[11] See *JAIH*, IX, p 209, Maitreya, *Gaudalēkhamālā*, p 108

[12] For the reign period of Gōvindachandra, see *Ind Cult*, VII, pp 405 ff

[13] Cf *Prāgjyōtishēshu Durjay ākhya-puram = adhyuvāsa* (Bhattacharya, *op cit*, p 97 (text line 40), cf p 111

[14] Cf *rājñas= tasy= ā nagari Durjayā nāma* [*ibid*, pp 122, 136—verse 19]

3 ART OF DANCE IN THE TEMPLES OF TAMIL NADU-EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

A N PERUMAL

1 *Dance in Earlier Literatures*

Dance as an art was not alien to the ancient Tamils Many forms of dances in the name of kūttus were in constant practice among them Their ancient literary treasures reveal this fact by referring to them in ever so many places As it is known from Śangam literature kūttus like kuravai, tunankai, veṇri, veri, vaḷḷi, etc, were performed by them mostly during festive occasions They were designed to honour the gods they were worshipping

Śilappatikāram gives a vivid account of the dances to mark the prevalence of such performances among the various sets of people and to emphasize their importance in the society The famous Eleven Atals and Śākkaikkūttu extolled in this epic deserve sufficient mention Aḍiyārkkunallār, the renowned commentator to this epic, shows himself an exponent in giving detailed pieces of informations regarding the art of dance which were all in vogue during those times The main division of the dances into vēttiyal and poduviyal is given with a stress in a suggestive manner What Adiyarkkunallār gives in his commentary would help us to make out clearly what are succinctly referred to in the inscriptions

2 *Epigraphical Evidences*

During the Middle Ages Kings used to inscribe the important features of their life and roles on stones As dance was one of the items of life held in high esteem, it was referred to in many inscriptions The different kinds of dance popularly performed in temples during festival days find expression in them They serve as a useful source of information to know something about the art of dance during those times

3 *Muttamiḻ*

From Śangam Age onwards Tamil has been honoured as Muttamiḻ in consideration to its tripartite classification as Iyal, Iśai and Nāṭakam As the last one includes Nataṇam in its fold, the references to Muttamiḻ call the attention of our enquiry about dances The Tirukkōyilūr inscription of 'Kampaṇ Mūvēnda Vēḷāṇ' speaks about the proficiency of Kapilar in Muttamiḻ Further it states about the talents of the dancing girls in addition to an account of the musical instruments they had used[1] This inscription leaves sufficient room to think that dance occupied an important position among Muttamiḻ The inscription of Śōnādu Viḷangiyaruliya Sundara Pāndiyan found in the Pudukōṭṭai district also remarks about Muttamiḻ[2] It is to be known that a person proficient in Muttamiḻ was highly respected by the king According to one inscription the competence of Kōchchaḍaiyaparmarāṇa Tiripuvaṇachakkaravaittigaḷ Kulaśēkarattēvar in Iyal, Iśai and Nāṭakam is pointed out as something

praiseworthy [3] Nātakattamil which includes dance was kept in par with the others if not more

Śantikkūttu

The inscription of Tiruvēngaivāśal dated 1132 A D which falls in the fourteenth year of Vikkiramaśōlan's reign refers to Śāntikkūttu conducted nine times a year by Ēlunāṭṭu Mangai The dance was to be performed before the temple of Tiruvēngaivāyil Āndār in Chittirai when the chief festival was in celebration For the purpose, the dancing girl was given lands free of tax and, furthermore, in case of crop failures it was ordered to give her grains and other materials through other sources [4] Such was the respect given to dance It seems, the king had felt that the dance performances in the temple should not suffer under any circumstance

In the same temple king Rājādhirāja II states in another inscription that in order to perform Śāntikkūttu six times in the Tiruvādirai festival conducted in Vaikāśi, two dancing girls were given lands [5]

The inscription of Sundarapāndiyan of the tenth year of his reign proclaims an allotment to a śāntikkūttan called Aranchi Arittan [6] Sundara Pāṇḍiyadēvar's inscription at Tiruverriyūr states about a kūttu called Śāntikkuṇippam [7] There may be some difference between this and śāntikkūttu Perhaps this would be a developed form of the former one When changes creep in, new forms can be evolved

Śāntikkūttu as explained by Adiyārkkunallār is of four kinds namely Śokkam, Mey, Avinayam and Nāṭakam All these aim at the successful progress of the her Avinayam encompasses many forms of dan which give out certain emotional them Significant movements of the hands oth wise called 'Mudrās' specify the emotio outpour of the action Avinayam nee only a song for its presentation where Nāṭakam wants a story to play on t stage

5 *Śakkaikkūttu*

Śākkaikkūttu was very popular in Tan Nadu till the end of Middle Ages Ma inscriptions in the famous temples refer its presentation The inscription of Rājē dra I, in his twentyninth year of re at Kilappāvūr states that Śākkaikkūttu w conducted in the temple [8]

The inscription of Kāmaraśavalli refe to Śākkai Mārāyan Vikrama Śōlan wl had received lands for performing Śākk kkūttu thrice in each of the Tiruvādi festivals conducted in Mārgali and Vaikā The Kūttu was to be played befo the Tirukkārkōtiśvaramudaiyār temple [9]

Another inscription in Kīlappāvi mentions that Ālaiyūr Śākkaiyan was giv gold and land to perform Śākkaikkūt thrice a year [10]

According to certain inscriptional ev dences Śākkaikkūttar had played Āriy kkūttu in various temples For that th were given lands in the name of Śākk kkāni This may give place to infer th both these dances would have been relate with each other at least in certain respects

During the reign of Āditya II it stated in the Tiruvidaimarudūr inscriptio

hat the Tiruvellārai Śākkai had played riyakkūttu seven times a year in the resence of the king [11] According to the iruvāduturai inscription of Rājarāja's inth year of reign it is to be known hat Śākkaikāṇi was given for a dancer o perform Āriyakkūttu before the king [12] he epigraphical testimony given by Paraēśari Rājēndra Śōlan states that Ārankam riyakkūttu was the representation of ertain incidents of the puranic stories hich were being played by a Śākkaiyan alled Kumāran Śikantan during Purattāśi stival in the temple of Tiruvāduturai lvār The dancer was given Śākkaikāṇi s a means to his livelihood [13]

Śākkaikkūttu is more or less related o Koṭṭiśētam or Koṭukoṭṭi the celestial ance of Lord Śiva and Goddess Umā, erformed to extol the burning of Tripura he main purpose of Śākkaikkūttu was o please the king and the people The est of the dancers was conferred the tle of 'Śākkaimārāyaṇ' Pirapantakkūttu, lankiyārkūttu and Kūḍiyāṭṭam are three ther famous forms of dance developed out f Śākkaikkūttu Katakali which is very mous in Kerala may well be considered an issue of Śākkaikkūttu

Agamārggam or Meykkūttu

According to the inscription of Rājaja III in the Tiruveṟṟiyūr temple hich falls in the 19th year of his reign, gamārggam or Meykkūttu was conducted the Rājarāja Tirumaṇṭapam on the eighth y of the Āvaṇi Festival [14] It is also pecially pointed out that the performance as so fascinating and attractive that the king was loud in his praises for the actor The same kind of performance was also referred to in another inscription in the same temple by Vijayarājēndra [15]

7 Tamiḻkkūttu

In an inscription of Kulōttunga I at Māṇampādi, we find a reference to Tamiḻkkūttu by Kūttukkāṇi [16] Nothing more can be evolved out of this inscription about Tamiḻkkūttu A Tamil verse is seen inscribed in the Śikkanatasvāmi temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai which contains poetic imagery that may serve as material for a piece of enactment [17]

8 Nāṭakam

There are a few epigraphical instances which give evidence to the enactments of dramas in the tenth and eleventh centuries Rājarāja I, in one of his inscriptions of the ninth year of his reign, refers to the enactment of Tirumūla Nāṭakam and also Āriyakkūttu It is stated that Āriyakkūttu has seven features of its own [18]

The Tiruppandaṇainallūr Paśupatīśvarar Temple inscription of Rājēndra II in his tenth year mentions about a play called Rājarāja Nāṭakam It is stated that Vikramādittaṇ Achchaṇāṇa Rājarāja Nāṭakapperiyaṇ had inaugurated the play 'Rājarāja Nāṭakapperiyaṇ' was the title conferred upon him considering his merits in conducting plays [19]

From an inscription found in the Northern wall of the Tañjāvūr Bṛihadīśvarar Temple, it is known that Rājarājēśvara Nāṭakam was enacted every year during the Vaikāśi Festivals. For enacting

the play Vijayarājēndra and his troupe were paid in kind This inscription is dated in 984 A D when Rājēndra II was the ruler[20]

According to the Kadalūr inscription of 1119 A D, Kamalālayapattar was allowed to enjoy some lands for performing Pūmpuliyūr Nātakam[21]

As inscribed at Pattamaḍai in Tirunelveli district, a group of Dēvadāsigaḷ under Yaśōdā enacted a play every year in the temple at Śrivallīśvaram For this they were given lands free of tax[22] The inscriptions at Tiruvallīśvaram, Tirukkaḻunkuṉṟam, Tirupādirippuliyūr and Āttūr also contain good evidences for dramatic performances in those temples

9 Nātakachchālai

During the Śangam period and epic age the stages were called as ādukaḷam, arangam and avai Perunkatai calls it as Kūttappaḷḷi or Kūttāḍum Iḍam[23] In the Tiruviḍaimarudūr inscription theatres are mentioned as 'Nāṭakachchālai'[24] Chōḷa rule was not an insular one It was characterised by cultural contacts with several parts of India and even lands outside During this period there are references to various types of theatres called 'Nāṉāvida-nāṭakachchālai' It was possible for them to erect theatres on the standards prescribed in the books like Nātya Śāstra[25] The Pāṇḍya kings also encouraged dances and constructed theatres called 'Nāṭakaśālai'[26] Further there are dancing halls found in the famous temples In the Ēkāmranātha temple at Kāñchīpuram it is called 'Nirutta-maṇṭapam' and at Tirukkurrālam it is named 'Chittiraśālai' At Śuchīndram space inside the temple is called Nātakaśālai It can be noticed that the dancing halls are located in such a place which can be easily accessible through the main gōpura-vāyil Further there is sufficient space for the selected audience who were allowed to witness the performance

10 Dancing Figures

All round the temples there are sculptures exposing the various dance postures The east and west gōpurams situated in the outer prākāra of the Chidambaram temple bear figures posing the 108 postures of dance with their names inscribed above each in grantha These figures seem to have been engraved during the time of Kōpperuñjingaṉ in the middle of the thirteenth century A D[27] In the Vimāṉam of the Big Temple at Tañjāvūr only 84 such figures are found while the others are left incomplete

11 Conclusion

From these epigraphical evidences, it is quite clear that the art of dance was held in high esteem both by the king and the people Titles were conferred upon the best dancers Tirunelvēli Udaiyār temple inscription speaks of a dancing girl known as Aḻagiya Perumāḷ Talaikkōli[28] Here it is seen that the title 'Talaikkōli' is added with the name of the dancer Royal patronage had fed the art sufficiently well and so it had thrived fully well Various kūttus were in vogue, perhaps more developed and sophisticated than those mentioned in the earlier literatures The themes of the dance performances were mostly puranic and they were ordinarily conducted in temples during festival times as part of the customary items in the celebration

Foot-Notes

1 *SII*, III, No 863 line 69-70 and 92-102
2 *Ibid*, V, No 250
3 *Ibid*, V, No 302
4 Pudukkottai Inscriptions, 253 of 1914, No 128
5 *Ibid*, 254 of 1914, No 139
6 *Ibid*, 275
7 *A R Ep*, 1913, P 127, 212 of 1912, No 525
8 65 of 1914
9 The Kāmaraśavalli Inscriptions, 1915
10 Inscription of Parakēsarivarmaṉ, 250 of 1926
11 *SII*, V, No 718
12 120 of 1925
13 Inscription of Parakēsari Rājēndra Śōḻaṉ, 120 of 1925
14 *SII*, I, 211 of 1912, No 520
15 *Ibid*, 128 of 1912
16 90 of 1932
17 361 of 1930
18 *SII*, IV, Part V
19 *A R Ep*, 1931, 1932
20 *SII*, II, 67
21 *A R Ep*, 128 of 1995
22 Pammal Sambanda Mudaliyar, Nāṭakattamiḻ, (1962) p 51
23 Perunkatai, Vattavakāṇḍam, 15 4, 147
Naravāṇakāṇḍam, 15, 109
24 Tiruviḍaimarudūr Inscription, *SII*, III, No 213
25 Adya Rangacharya, Drama in Sanskrit Literature, p 213
26 Subject Index to the Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy From 1887 to 1936, C R Krishnamacharlu, 30, 12
27 *SITI*, III, Para II, p 185
28 *SII*, V, No 430

4 WERE MADHAVAVARMAN I AND TIVARADEVA CONTEMPORARIES?

Ajay Mitra Shastri

In a paper entitled 'The Date of Tivaradēva' published in an earlier volume of this journal[1] V V Mirashi has taken exception to some of my observations on the question of the supposed comtemporaneity of the Pānduvamśi king Tīvaradēva and the Vishnukundin ruler Mādhavavarman I[2] While doing so he has only reiterated his earlier views without citing any new evidence and giving thought to the points made out by me on the basis of some new evidence that has come to light of late It has to be pointed out that in my paper 'A Note on the Ipur and Polamuru Plates of Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman I' published in the *Śrī Mallampalli Somashekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume*,[3] which is the target of Mirashi's criticism, my object was only to ascertain if the expression *Trivara-nagara* occurring in these epigraphs could be interpreted to mean 'the city of Tīvaradēva' and it was in this connection that, on the basis of the evidence afforded by the Tummalagudem plates of Vikramēndravarman II, I had invited attention to the difficulties involved in accepting the contemporaneity of Tīvaradēva and Mādhavavarman I and while doing so I had taken for granted the date for the former proposed by Mirashi It was not my intention to go into the question of the date of Tīvaradēva However, now that the question has been raised again, it will be desirable to discuss the issue at some length

Mirashi has discussed the date of Tīvaradēva at several places and suggested various dates, *viz*, 534-550,[4] 560-575,[5] 550-565[6] and 535-555 A D[7] He is now in favour of the view that Tīvaradēva's reign commenced in 520 A D[8] This antedating is due to his anxiety to reinforce his position that Tīvaradēva and Mādhavavarman I were contemporaries But, while suggesting this new date Mirashi seems to have ignored most of the new material bearing on the question that has come to light in recent years It is therefore proposed to dilate upon the question in the light of this new evidence First, let us try to ascertain when Mādhavavarman I flourished

All the records of the Vishnukundins with the solitary exception of the Tummalagudem plates of Vikramēndravarman II the last known member of the dynasty, are dated in the regnal years of the issuing chiefs and as such the dates of the different members of the family were fixed tentatively on the basis of some extraneous considerations prior to the discovery of the Tummalagudem plates The discovery of the Tummalagudem plates issued by Vikramēndravarman II in Śaka 488 expired or 566 67 A D has put Vishṇukundin chronology on a more solid basis As Śaka 488 is said to have been the 11th year of Vikramēndravarman's reign his accession evidently took place sometime in

555-556 A D He was preceded on the throne by his father Indravarman whose latest known date is the 27th year of his reign when he issued his Ramatirtham plates Even if it is held that his reign did not extend beyond the 27th year, his accession cannot be dated later than 528-529 A D Some scholars are of the opinion that his father Vikramēndravarman I did not rule as he predeceased his father who had a rather long reign of over forty years [9] But this surmise cannot be taken seriously in view of the fact that in the records of his successors Vikramēndravarman I is given the regal titles *Rājan*[10] and *Mahārāja*[11] which should leave no doubt about his accession even though no record of his own reign has been reported so far [12] Even assuming that he had a short reign of about a decade, his accession could not have taken place later than 518-519 A D His father Mādhavavarman I ruled for at least forty or forty-eight years depending upon the reading of the date of the Polamuru plates [13] His accession therefore cannot be placed later than 478-479 or 470 A D [14] In any case it is apparent that the close of his reign cannot be dated later than 518-519 A D [15] The allusion to his dalliances with the ladies at *trivara-nagara* is first met with in his Ipur plates issued in the 37th year of his reign This event therefore must have taken place in or prior to 515-516 A D If the expression *trivara-nagara* has to be taken as referring to Tivaradēva the latter will have to be shown to have assumed regal power before this date Let us therefore examine the evidence for the date of Tīvaradēva

It must be admitted at the very outset that the evidence bearing on this question available at present is not of such a nature as to allow us to fix an exact date No record of either Tīvaradēva himself or any of his successors dated in any well-known reckoning has been found so far All these rulers dated their records in regnal years without reference to any era We have therefore to depend on some extraneous considerations while dealing with the present issue It is now admitted that the Pāndava family, to which Tīvaradēva belonged, came to power in South Kōsala after the Śarabhapurīyas We must therefore first ascertain the period of the rule of the Śarabhapura kings The first member of the dynasty known from its records was Śarabha who founded its early capital and named the same after himself He is generally identified with Śarabharāja, the maternal grandfath r of Goparāja who, according to an Ēran inscription dated 510 A D, died in a fierce battle fighting for his friend Bhānugupta[16] Śarabha may therefore be placed in the last quarter of the fifth century A D Śarabha's son Narēndra ruled for about twenty-five years, the latest known years of his reign being 24th [17] His reign may therefore be placed from *c* 500 to 525 A D The next known member of the family is Prasanna or Prasannamātra who issued repousse coins and is also mentioned in the seal-inscriptions of his son Jayarāja and grandson Sudēvarāja As no record of his own reign has been found so far, it is difficult to ascertain the length of his reign But assuming that he was the immediate successor of Narēndra and had a reign of some twenty-five years, his reign may be dated in 525-550 A D The latest known date of Prasannamātra's son and successor Jayarāja is his 9th regnal year His reign may therefore be justifiably supposed to have lasted for about ten years from *c* 550 to c 560 A D Jayarāja appears to have been followed by his brother Mānamātra alias Durgarāja who is known from the Mahasamund[18] and Kauvatal[19] plates of his son and

successor Sudēvarāja as well as from the inscriptions on the seals attached to the same monarch's Nahna[20] and Arang plates [21] The employment of the prefix *mahat* to his name in the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates should leave no room for doubt that he did ascend the throne But as no record of his own reign has been reported so far, it is not possible to ascertain the exact length of his reign However, assuming that he too ruled for about ten years, his reign may be supposed to have terminated about 570 A D Sudēvarāja, son and successor of Mānamātra-Durgarāja, is known from numerous records of his own reign and his latest known date is the tenth year of his reign when his Raipur plates were issued [22] Even if it is supposed that this was the closing year of his reign, he could not have ceased to rule before 580 A D Sudēvarāja was succeeded by his brother Pravararāja who is known from two copper-plate charters both of which were issued in the third year of his reign [23] If he, too, is taken to have ruled for a short period of ten years, the end of his regnal period may be placed around 590 A D [24] Pravararāja is the last known member of the dynasty and nothing is known about the history of the Śarabhapurīyas thereafter Even assuming that the rule of the family ended with Pravararāja who was overthrown by Pānduvamśa and that the Pāndava king who ousted Pravararāja was none else than Tīvaradēva, the commencement of the latter's reign cannot be dated before the closing years of the 6th century A D It seems, however, that Tīvaradēva did not come to the throne immediately after Pravararāja and that the two were separated from each other by a sufficiently long interval of time

There is sufficient evidence to show that members of the Pāṇḍava dynasty ruled over South Kōsala for quite som time before Tīvaradēva Reference mu be made in this connection to the afore said Mahasamund and Kauvatal grants c Sudēvarāja wherein a certain Indrabala rāja, styled *mahāsāmanta*, figures as occupyin the office of *Sarvādhikārādhikrita* It i not possible in the present state of insuffi cient information to ascertain the identit of this Indrabalarāja But he is generall identified with Indrabala, son of the firs known Pāṇḍavavamśī ruler Udayana an grandfather of Tīvaradēva In case th identification is accepted, Tīvaradēva' grandfather Indrabala will have to b regarded as occupying a subordinate thougl important position under Sudēvarāja til the latter's closing years But we have enough evidence to prove that he also ruled as a sovereign ruler for some time in South Kōsala In a fragmentary lithic record put up by Īśānadēva in the Lakshmaṇēśvara temple at Kharod, about two miles to the north of Sheorinarayan in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh, his father Indrabala is described as one whose lotus-feet were adorned with the crest-jewels of all the monarchs [25] He founded a town, christened Indrapura after his own name, which is spoken of as the headquarters of a district (*vishaya*) in the same record His son Īśānadēva erected the temple of Lakshmanēśvara (now known as Lakhanēśvara) at Kharod and gave a few villages for its maintenace [26] It will thus follow that Indrabala began his career as a subordinate chief under Sudēvarāja and ruled as a sovereign ruler after Pravararāja, and that he was succeeded by his son Īśānadēva Another son of Indrabala, Nannarāja, is also known to have ruled in South Kōsala There is

considerable difference of opinion about the exact findspot of the Raipur Museum stone inscription[27] of Nannarāja (called Nannarājādhirāja), some holding that it was found at Bhandak (modern Bhadrāvatī) in the Chanda District of the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and others regarding Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District or Arang in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh as its provenance But it appears from Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar's testimony that the record was in all probability found at Arang[28] This inscription was put up during the reign of Nannarāja, styled Nannarājādhirāja, who is undoubtedly the same as the homonymous grandson of Udayana and father of Tivaradēva The record further shows that another grandson of Udayana, Bhavadēva Ranakēsarin, also ruled in Kōsala We may reasonably assign a period of a minimum of about forty years for the rule of Indrabala, Īśānadēva and Nannarāja, the latter's reign terminating around 630 A D[29]

Attention may be invited to a few other points which may lead one to date the accession of Tīvaradēva still later The Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja show that a family known as Amarārya-kula ruled in South Kōsala for some time after the Śarabhapurīyas Three members of this family are known, *viz*, Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and his sons Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and Vyāghrarāja The plates were issued by Vyāghrarāja, but the wording of the record seems to indicate that his elder brother Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka was the ruler at the time The date of the record has been variously read as year 41 or 4 The title *bhaṭṭāraka* suffixed to the name of Jaya shows that he preceded Pravara in the rule over South Kōsala[30] Provision will have to be made for the rule of these two chiefs before the reigns of the members of Udayana's line

Of late, a copper-plate charter of Śūrabala,[31] the Pānduvamśī king of Mēkalā, and a stray plate of another charter of the same dynasty[32] have been reported from Malhar in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh where a large number of Śarabhapurīya and Pāndavavamśī charters have also been found One of the villages referred to in the stray plate has also been located in the surrounding area[33] This should leave no room for doubt that South Kōsala passed on to the Pāṇḍuvamśīs of Mēkalā during the reign of the last known member of the family, Śūrabala Udīrnavaira In all likelihood this event took place before South Kōsala came under the possession of the Pāndavas of Udayana's line

If we make a provision of a period of about thirty years for the rule of the Amarārya-kula and Śūrabala also, the beginning of the reign of Tīvaradēva would have to be dated in the second half of the seventh century A D[34]

It will follow from the foregoing discussion that Tīvaradēva and Vishnu-kundin Mādhavavarman I could not be contemporaries as they were removed from each other by a long period of more than a century For, while the latest date for the close of Mādhavavarman's reign is, as shown above, 518-19 A D, the reign of Tivaradeva could not have commenced prior to the latter half of the seventh century A D And as such

the expression *Tivara-nagara* met with in the Vishnukundin record cannot be construed as referring to Tivaradeva[35]

Even if we were to accept Mirashi's date for the close of Mādhavavarman's rule and share his view that Tīvaradēva came to power immediately after the Śarabhapuriya chief Pravararāja, Tivaradēva cannot be brought so early as to become a contemporary of Mādhavavarman I if only we were to take into account the known regnal years of the Śarabhapurīya chiefs altogether ignoring the possibility of the continuation of the reigns beyond recorded years and make only a nominal provision for the reigns of those chiefs whose dated records have yet to be found Mirashi places the first known Śarabhapura chief Śarabha or Śarabharāja in *circa* 460-480 A D, which, though much too early, may be accepted for argument's sake The recorded reigns of his descendants amount to fortysix years (Narēndra 24 Jayarāja 9, Sudēvarāja 10 and Pravararāja 3) We know of two more Śarabhapurīya chiefs, *viz*, Prasannamātra and Mānamātra-Durgarāja, who certainly ruled but whose records have not been reported so far If they are assigned a reign of ten years each, we get in all sixtysix years which intervened between Śarabharāja and Tīvaradēva The accession of the latter, therefore, cannot be placed prior to 546 A D It is thus obvious that a considerably long period of time intervened between the end of Mādhavavarman's reign and the commencement of Tīvaradēva's

Foot Notes

1 *JESI*, iv, pp 1-5
2 *Sri Mallampalli Somashekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume* (*JAHRS*, xxxv), pp 165-168
3 *Ibid*
4 *EI*, xxii p 19 *In Studies in Indology*, i (2nd ed, 1967), p 251, fn 2, however, this date is given as 500-550 A D
5 *EI* xxvi p 229 Also see Studies in Indology, i (1st ed, 1960) p 234, fn 2
6 *Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp 223 ff, *Studies in Indology*, i (2nd ed), p 240
7 *Ibid* p 247
8 *JESI* iv, pp 1-5
9 According to K V Lakshman Rao (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, xi, p 61, text—line 41 and R Subba Rao (*JAHRS*, vi p 22) the year mentioned in the Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman I is 48 whereas D C Sircar (*Successors of the Satavahanas in the Deccan*, p 339) is in favour of reading it as 40 Sircar's reading is followed by Mirashi
10 In the Ramatirtham grant of his son Indrabhattārakavarman
11 In Vikramēndravarman's Tummalagudem plates See *JIH*, xliii, p 734 text line 10
12 Mirashi (*EI*, xxii, p 20, *Studies in Indology* i, pp 212 13) believes that Vikramēndravarman I did not rule and thinks that the regal titles may have been used for him by way of courtesy (*JESI*, iv, p 5, fn 24) This insistence, which is motivated by his anxiety to establish the contemporaneity of Mādhavavarman I and Tivaradēva, has no place in any scientific discussion
13 For the difference of opinion about the reading of the year, see note 9 above

14 In my paper in *JAHRS*, xxxv these dates are wrongly printed as 489 90 and 482 respectively (*ibid*, p 167) There are a few other misprints also

15 Mirashi brings down this date by omitting the reign of Vikramēndravarman I, which is unwarranted In case some margin is made for the continuation of the reign of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman beyond his latest known date, the termination of the reign of Mādhavavarman I will have to be placed a few years earlier

16 *CII* iii, pp 91-93

17 His Kurud plates were issued in this year See *EI*, xxxi, pp 263 66

18 Information about these plates, which are yet to be published, has been kindly supplied by my friend Shri B C Jain, Dy Director of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh

19 *EI*, xxxi, pp 314-16

20 These plates are commonly called Khariar plates But as they are known to have been found at Nahna (or Naina) we prefer to call them Nahna plates See *ibid* xxix, pp 170 73

21 *Ibid*, xxxiii, pp 18-22

22 *CII*, iii pp 196-200

23 *EI*, xxii, pp 15-23, xxxiv, pp 51-52

24 While calculating the reigns of the Śarabhapura kings, we have ignored the reigns of the Amarāryakula kings known from the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja (*ibid*, xxxiv, pp 45-50) for in our opinion these rulers belonged to a different family

25 Line 22 of this unpublished record is transcribed by Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, i p 258, fn 1) as follows *sarvv-āvan-īśvara-śirō-mani-rāji-rājat=pād-āmbujah śaśi kul-āmbara pūrna-chandrah Āsīd=bhuvah patih .pāsta-ripur=Indrabal=ābhidhanāh* Also see Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 2nd ed, 1932, p 125, no 208

26 *Ibid*

27 Kielhorn called it Nagpur Museum inscription, but it is now deposited in the M G M Museum, Raipur

28 We propose to discuss this and allied questions elsewhere

29 Once Mirashi also realised the necessity of assigning a few years (about 30 years) to the reigns of Tīvaradēva's predecessors, but now he has altogether ignored it See *EI*, xxvi, p 229 and *JESI*, iv, pp 1-2

30 We do not accept the view that Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka are the same as the Śarabhapura kings Jayarāja and Pravararāja

31 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, (*JESI*), iii, pp 183-89

32 *ABORI*, *Diamond Jubilee Volume*, pp 433 437

33 *Ibid*, p 435

34 If Bhīmasēna II of the Rājarshitulya-kula, known from his Arang plates, issued in the Gupta year 282 (= 601), also ruled in South Kōsala, some provision will have to be made for his reign also For his record, see *EI*, ix, pp 342 ff

35 For other points in support of this position, see *JAHRS*, xxxv, pp 165 68

5 ANATOMY OF POLITICAL ALLIANCE FROM TEMPLE RECORDS OF TIRUNAVALUR AND TIRUVORRIYUR

M G S Narayanan

It is well known that by the tenth century the most significant factor in South Indian history was the Chōla empire Every other power in this region had to define its relations with the Chōlas, and the fortunes of others depended largely on the nature of this relationship During the first half of the tenth century when the expanding Chōḷa empire swallowed the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and confronted the Rāshtrakūtas of Deccan, the Chēras of Makōtai on the West coast maintained friendly political relations with the Chōḷa power This relation was further cemented by a royal marriage and put to test in the joint military action against a common enemy in the form of the Rāshtrakūta empire

Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri's work on the Chōḷas remains the standard work of reference on the subject even to this day However, it may be noted that Prof Sastri knew practically nothing about the existence of the Chēra kingdom of Makōtai Although a few Chēra inscriptions were published in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* and *South Indian Inscriptions*, they had not been studied properly at the time when Prof Sastri prepared his monumental volumes on the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas and the History of South India as a whole [1] In spite of this difficulty Prof Sastri has been able to bring to notice a few important inscriptions which reveal the significance of the Chēra Chōḷa relationship of the tenth century, but a clear picture of the alliance could not be presented in his works in the absence of details on the history of Kerala The present paper attempts to put together the evidence of these inscriptions in order to have a fresh view of the situation Collectively they are able to provide a glimpse of the anatomy of Chēra-Chōḷa alliance in the period of the ill-fated conflict with the Rāshṭrakūta empire

The earliest record pointing to the Chēra Chōḷa friendship is an undated inscription from Tillaisthānam temple [2] This records a gift by Kadamba Mādēvi, on whose husband Vikki Annan, the two monarchs jointly conferred the personal privileges of the throne, chauri, palanquine, drum, a palace, ponakam (?) bugle, elephant corps and the hereditary title of "Sembiyan Tamiḷavēḷ" Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri had identified the Chōḷa counterpart of the Chēra king Sthānu Ravi of this period as Āditya Chōḷa [3] However the discovery of the name and titles of Śrikaṇtha Chōḷa of the Pottapi line by Prof T V Mahalingam has enabled us to see that the Chōḷa partner was not Āditya Chōla but Śrikantha Chōḷa since the Tillaisthānam record clearly mentions him as "Rājakēsari" and "Toṇḍaināḍu-pāvina Chōlan Palyānai Kōkkaṇḍan" [4] Incidentally we know from other sources that the regnal period of Sthānu Ravi

gins in 844 A D while that of Śrīkanṭha hōḷa ends in 845 A D Therefore it is now ossible to pin down the joint military action entioned in the undated Tillaisthānam cord to 844-45 A D[5]

In this connection, the next thing that e know about is marriage between Vīra hōḷa or Parāntaka Chōḷa (907-55 A D) id a Chēra princess called Kiḷān Aḍigal his marriage is celebrated in the Udayendim plates of Prithvīpathi II Hastimalla[6] ō Kilān Aḍigal is distinctly mentioned as ie mother of Rājāditya Chōla, who was own prince under Parāntaka Chōla, in an scription of the 28th year of Parāntaka om Tirunāmanallūr temple[7]

Prof K A N Sastri has taken Kō Kiḷān be the personal name of the queen of arāntaka Chōḷa[8] This does not appear to e true Another Kiḷān Adigal is mentioned the daughter of Chēra king Kulaśēkharaēva and wife of his successor Vijayarāgaēva in a record of this period from Tiruvanikkara[9]

Another person called Perumāṭṭiyār 'hatiraśikhāmani alias Kilān Adigaḷ is menoned as the royal donor in a record of ikkakkara temple in Kerala[10] From these it ay be safely inferred that Kiḷān Aḍigaḷ was a ommon title of Chēra princesses in Kerala n the light of this knowledge we may suggest hat Kō Kilān Aḍigaḷ, mother of Rājāditya ientioned in the Tirunāmanallūr inscription f the 28th year of Pārāntaka Chōla, was identiial with Ravi Nīli, daughter of Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga or Chēramānār Vijayarāgadēva, who ppears as the donor in a Tiruvorriyūr insription of the 29th year of Parāntaka Chōḷa[11] Thus we derive the information that Parāntaka Chōḷa had married Ravi Nīli alias Kiḷān Aḍigaḷ, daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāga (883-c 913 A D) and granddaughter of the Chēra king Sthānu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (844-883 A D) quite early in his life and that the crown prince Rājāditya was an offspring of this Chēra-Chōḷa matrimonial alliance It is now clear that military collaboration between the Chēras and the Chōḷas in the time of Sthānu Ravi had been strengthened by a marriage alliance in the time of his successor Vijayarāga It is not surprising that in the absence of detailed information regarding the Chēras of Makōtai, Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri was unable to place this relationship in perspective He could not see the identity of Ravi Nili and Kō Kiḷān Adigal and he considered as "doubtful" Gopinatha Rao's view that Parāntaka and his Chēra queen are named as Vīra Chōla and Kiḷān Adigaḷ in the Huzur Treasury Plates of Tiruvalla[12] In fact the new facts which came to light subsequently have provided support to Gopinatha Rao's inference

In spite of incorrect identification of Chēra Princesses and inadequate information regarding the fortunes of the Chēra kingdom Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out, with brilliant insight, the fact that the Chēra-Chōla marriage alliance, "contracted possibly in Āditya's life time, not only gave proof of the friendly political relations that obtained between the Chōḷa and Kerala rulers, but apparently furnished the occasion for a large influx of Malaiyālis into the Chōḷa country in search of service under the king and his sons" He also remarked correctly that "Vellan Kumaran, the Kerala general of Rājāditya, who built a temple at Grāmam was only the leading example of a large class of less known immigrants figuring as donors of small charitable gifts in the inscriptions o

the period [13] Again, with more informations about the Kerala side from the epigraphic records of the Chēras of Makōtai, we are now enabled to comprehend better the political and social implications of the names of these Malaiyāli donors in Chōla temples They really offer something more than a picture of a large influx of Malaiyāḷis into the Chōḷa country in search of service under the king and his sons They show that the Chēra king had not only given his daughter in marriage to the Chōḷa king but also sent a selected band of princelings from the families of his feudatories who were Nāḍuvāḷis in the different districts of Kerala to serve as companions for his grandson Rājāditya who became the Chōḷa crown prince These people were not seeking an opportunity for service under the Chōḷa king as we understand the search for employment in the modern sense They were not even adventurers who found a place in the Chōḷa military organisation As members of the aristocratic ruling families of Kerala, they were probably fulfilling their hereditary feudal obligations towards their own sovereign, the Chēra king, who nominated them as the companions of his grandson, so that they may serve him in war and peace

The leader of this group was evidently Veḷḷan Kumaran As pointed out already by Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri earlier, this Kerala general of Rājāditya was present at Grāmam as early as 936 A D where seven years later he constructed a stone temple to Śiva on the banks of the Pennār [14] Tirunāvalūr, a village near Grāmam, was the headquarters of Rājāditya for many years and it was called Rājādittapuram till about A D 1140 in records [15] This is also the place where we come across a large group of inscriptions in which Malaiyāḷi officers figure as donors to the temple

Prof V Raghavan has placed the students of South Indian history under a debt of obligation by proving the identity of Veḷḷan Kumaran of the two Grāmam records, the Kerala general of Rājāditya, with Chaturānana Pandita I of Tiruvorriyūr who figures in two inscriptions of that place [16] With this achievement we have got a rare opportunity to follow the strange career of a warrior-turned ascetic through the records of different stages in his life The first record of Grāmam, dated in the 29th year of Parāntaka, registers a gift of sheep for lamp in the shrine of Śrīmūlasthānattu Mahādēva at Ārruttaḷi in Tirumuṭṭiyūr, by Vellan Kumaran of Nandikkarai Puttūr in Malaināḍu, a general of Rājāditya [17] The second record from Grāmam dated in the 36th year of Parāntaka, (Kali year 4044, Kali day 1477037) states that Veḷḷan Kumaran, the Kerala general of prince Rājāditya, built a stone temple of Śiva (Ārruttaḷi Mahādēva) at Mauligrāma (Tirumuttiyūr) on the river Peṇṇai Terms like "Chamūnāyaka", "Chōḷargaḷ Mūlabhritya" and "Perumpaḍai Nāyaka" are used as titles of Veḷḷan Kumaran He is also called "Uttamah Kēraḷānām" or the best of Keralites His birth place is mentioned as Puttūr [18] This Nandikkarai Puttūr may be identified as Nandikkara, near Irinjālakkuda in the old Vaḷḷuvanād district of the Chēra country or Kerala

The third record from Tiruvorriyūr near Madras simply mentions Chaturānana Pandita as the recipient of a donation to the local temple in the 18th year of Kṛishna III Rāshtrakūṭa [19] The fourth record, also from Tiruvorriyūr, is dated in the 20th year of

Krishna III (959 A D) and gives the autobiography of Veḷlan Kumaran composed long after he had become an ascetic under the adopted name of Chaturānana Paṇḍita [20] The meaning of certain passages in this record was completely misunderstood by some early scholars who took the term "Vallabha Rāshtranātha" to indicate the Rashtrakuta ruler and inferred that a certain Chōḷa general of Rājāditya betrayed his masters and went over to the Rāshtrakūṭa (Vallabha) side [21]

Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri came nearer to the truth when he emphassied the term Kerala in the Pandita's autobiography and assumed that he was born in a family of local chieftains in Kerala [22] Evidently he did not grasp the fact that the name of the donor as mentioned in this record, i e "Vallabhō Guhābha" was a Sanskritised and poetic expression for the name "Veḷlan Kumaran" He did not have materials before him to show that Valluvanād was a Nāḍu or Rāshṭra in the Kerala kingdom of that period, that it was governed by a family of hereditary chieftains under the Chēra king, and that these chieftains had the hereditary title of Rāyira or Rājaśēkhara which is mentioned in this particular inscription [23] However, with the unerring instinct of a great historian he observed in a foot note that "one wonders if this man was the same as Vellan Kumaran, the Kerala general of Rājāditya, who built the Śiva temple at Grāmam, and was the most prominent among the numberless Kerala servants of Rājāditya [24] The text of the inscription has subsequently been properly edited and the controversial points clarified by Dr V Raghavan [25] When we remember that a village called Nandikkarai Puttūr existed in Vaḷluvanād in Kerala and that the Nāḍuvāḷi of Vaḷluvanād under the Chēra sovereigns possessed the hereditary title of Rājaśēkhara we have to agree that Dr V Raghavan's identification of Veḷlan Kumaran as Chaturānana Pandita is fully confirmed by clear epigraphic evidence This incidentally reveals the feudal character of the political structure and political relations of the period under discussion It was evidently the feudatory status of the ruler of Vaḷluvanād under the Chēra king that required him to send his son to the court of the Chēra-Chōḷa prince Rājāditya at a very young age

This Tiruvorriyūr inscription of the 20th year of Krishna III says that Vallabha, resembling Guha (Kumaran or Subrahmaṇya) son of Rajaśēkhara (this applies to the ruler of Vaḷluvanāḍ as well as to Śiva) who was governor of Vallabha-rāshtra in Kerala, went to Chōḷadēśa after learning all that was to be learnt (samasta-vidyā) and became the loyal servant of prince Rājāditya He is described as a favourite of the goddess of prosperity and a well wisher of all the people He offered high devotion and loyalty (Gurusēvā and Sāmantabhāva) in the service of the prince He was unable to achieve the bliss of death in the company of his master (Sahamaraṇa-sukham) on account of his absence This is obviously a reference to the tragic circumstances of the death of prince Rājāditya at the battle of Takkōlam (949 A D) where the Ganga prince Būtuga jumped on to the back of his elephant and killed him by surprise The following sentence reflects the intense frustration of a loyal companion of honour who was duty-bound to die with his master on the field of battle [26]

The old general recalls in one pithy sentence that he was upset because his action was unbecoming of his caste (jāti), family

(anvaya), father (tāta) and master (bhartā) Most probably this son of the Vaḷḷuvanāḍ Rāja hailed from an aristocratic Nāyar family which supplied wives to the governing families and companions of honour to the princes according to the practice which was common in medieval Kerala This event was a turning point in the career of the general who had reached the top of his profession At this point his natural piety which had expressed itself in the construction of temples earlier, came to his rescue He renounced the world (Virāgatām-upagatah), purified himself by a trip to Prayāga (snātas-trimārgāmbhasi) and finally accepted the descipleship of Nirañjana Guru the lord of Ādhigrāma (Orriyūr) and the name of Chaturānana He reveals all these facts on the occasion of a gift of 100 nishkas of gold to Narasimha-maṅgala-sabhā on his birthday on Dhanishṭā nakshatra

This unusual autobiographical record of the former Kerala general turned into ascetic, expressed in four elegant ślōkas in Sanskrit, throws a flood of light into the process of recruitment of the generals and the conditions of their service Atleast in the case of two other Malaiyāḷi military officers attached to Rājāditya, we know that they were similarly drawn from the aristocratic ruling elite of Kerala The names found in a group are those of Malaiyāḷan Māḷuvachchār Aṭṭankan Chāttan, Malaiyālan Nedunkālāināttu Īśānamangalattu Mānavallan Kannan, Malaiyāḷan Iravi kōdai, Malaiyāḷan Neḍumpuraiyūr Nāṭṭil Vakkanāṭṭu Mankarai Kantan Kāman, Malaināṭṭu Kantiyūr Vēlkulasundaran, Malaiyāḷa-parivārattu Chēvakan Tirukkunrappoḷa Chēnta Kumaran, and Malaināttu Madaivāḷkai Iyakkan Irāman[27] The title Māluvachchār is reminiscent of the title Maluvakkan used by the hereditary governors of Kiḷmalaināḍ in Kerala[28] The title of Vēlkulasundaram appears in the signature of the Vēnāḍ governor in the Syriyan Christian copper plates[29] These two persons also must be sons of the feudatories of Kiḷmalaināḍ and Vēnāḍ respectively There is no information about the status of others but the three cases would indicate that the Chēra king had organised a few selected young men of aristocratic birth to act as the companions and servants (Sāmantas and Sēvakas) of the Chōḷa prince That they proved their merit in faithful service for long years may be deduced from the high rank of Veḷḷan Kumaran and the rich donations offered by the other Malaiyāḷis to the temple Besides these, Kiḷān Aḍigaḷ, mother of Rājāditya built the stone temple (Karrali) of Tiruttoṇḍīśvara[30] Her female servant (Parivārattāḷ) Chitrakōmalam donated 90 sheep and an Īḷa-viḷakku to the temple

It may be gathered from this brief survey of epigraphic records that Rājāditya's retinue included a good number of Malaiyāḷis who were selected from among the feudatories of the kings of Kerala This complex of temple records would show how the feudal political hierarchy operated in the organisation of the army in the context of the Chōḷa-Chēra alliance They also reveal partly the complicated matrix of loyalty and service in which royal matrimonial relations, piety, feudal obligations, military needs and personal sense of honour played their part in conformity with the accepted values of the age

Foot Notes

1 It is only in the fifties and sixties of the present century that Prof Elamkulam P N Kunjan Pillai brought out his papers on the later Chēra period which were translated into English later under the title "*Studies in Kerala History*", Kottayam, 1970

2 286 of 1911, *AREp*, 1912, II, 11

3 *The Chōḷas*, p 115 See Also T A Gopinath Rao, *T A S*, II pp 76-77, Elamkulam, *Ēṭukaḷ*, p 99

4 T V Mahalingam "An Interregnum in Pallava History" *Journal of Indian History*, XLI-I, pp 297-303

5 M G S Narayanan, "Political and Social Conditions of Kerala c 800 1124 A D" (Unpublished Thesis, Kerala University, 1973) Political History, Chēra Chōḷa entente

6 *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, III, No 76, Verse 8, pp 383

7 335 of 1902, *EI*, VII p 133

8 *The Chōḷas*, p 134

9 *TAS*, IV, No 36, pp 144-145 The relationship probably suggests the matrilenial form of succession as the nephew might have married his uncle's daughter following as old custom in Kerala

10 *TAS*, III, No 36, pp 169-171

11 No 169 of 1912, *SII*, III, No 103, pp 235-236

12 *The Chōḷas*, pp 134-139

13 *The Chōḷas*, pp 139

14 No 739 of 1905, *The Chōḷas* p 129, No 732 of 1905 dated Saturday 14th January, A D 943 *The Chōḷas*, pp 129

15 No 374 of 1902

16 *E I* XXVI-I pp 239 ff

17 See Note 14 above

18 See Note 12 above

19 No 177 of 1912

20 No 181 of 1912

21 *ARSIE*, 1913, pp 93-94, *MJOR*, VI, pp 229-532

22 *The Chōḷas* pp 649

23 The matters are brought out in my unpublished Ph D Dissertation See note No 5 above

24 *The Chōḷas* p 665

25 See Note No 16 above

26 See M G S Narayanan "The Institution of Companions of Honour", *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1973

27 Nos 326, 329, 331a 337, 341, 343 and 346 of 1902, See *SII*, VII, Nos 955, 958, 960, 967, 971, 973 and 976, pp 446-471

28 See Trikkākkara and Trikkaḍittānam inscriptions of Māḷuvakkōnār *TAS*, III, pp 188-189 No 47 and *TAS*, V, No 59, pp 181-183 See also Tiruvalla Copper Plates, *TAS*, III, 11, 349-360

29 *TAS*, II, No 9 (1), pp 67 69

30 See Note 7 above

6 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF ANCIENT CHAMBA

As Gleaned From its Inscriptions

B K Kaul Dembi

Chamba is the north-western most district of Himachal Pradesh situated in the bosom of the Himalaya Mountains between north latitude 32° 11' 30" and 33° 13' 6 and last longitude 75° 49' 0" and 77° 3' 30' In shape it is more or less of a rough oblong, contracted towards the north It comprises a section of the Ravi Valley and a section of the Chinab Valley The territory is wholly mountainous with altitudes ranging from 2000 to 21000 feet above sea level

Chamba was formerly one of the old hill states of western Himalayas comprising a superficial area of 3,216 square miles The name Chamba dose not occur in early Sanskrit literature Its earliest mention is found in the Bharamaur copper plate inscription of Yugākaravarman belonging to the 10th century A D Here the form of the name given is Chanpakā, which changes to Champakā owing to vernacular influence in the copper plate charters of Chamba belonging to the 13th and the subsequent centuries The name also occurs in the form Champā at several places in the *Rājatarangini*[2] which refers to a few rulers of this hill state It is from the latter form that the modern form Chamba is derived

Sources of Information

The only reliable and authentic sourc of information regarding the social an economic conditions of ancient Chamba ar the inscriptions dating from the 6th cen tury A D These are of diverse types, consis ing of rock and stone inscriptions, imag inscriptions, copper plate inscriptions an the fountain stone inscriptions The rock image and copper plate types of inscription are well known and a word may be sai about the fountain stone inscriptions whic are unique of their type These are engra ved on the elegantly carved fountain slab discovered from different parts of Chamba an now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum Chamba These inscribed slabs were erecte at springs by the pious donors for earning religious merit They are generally dedica ted to Varuna, the god of waters, whose seated figure the stones generally contain in the centre The other figures carved on these slabs include those of the *nava-grahas* of Vishnu, sleeping on the Śēshanāga, of hi ten incarnations and of the river goddesse Gangā and Yamunā The stones are elegan tly decorated on their borders by variou geometrical patterns, floral and vegeta designs

Society

Varnāsrama — The castes and the orders

The inscriptions of Chamba do not throw much light on the castes and the orders as they existed in ancient Chamba The copper plate inscriptions only mention the names of the four castes but do not furnish details about all of them It is only about the Brāhmanas that we get some detailed information

The Brāhmanas occupied an honoured place in the social hierarchy in ancient Chamba They received royal patronage in the form of land grants which bestowed on them several rights and privileges [3] They were granted the ownership of grazing and pasture grounds, kitchen gardens, fruit trees, water courses, channels, the fallow and the cultivable lands which lay within the specified boundaries The grants were free from all kinds of taxes The subjects living in the granted area were to pay to the grantee the tax in cash and kind and bring to him every other tribute due to the king The district and the local officers were ordered not to encamp at the house of the donee nor to demand from him milk, corn, fuel, chaff, furniture, etc And not to cause vexation to his ploughmen, cowherds, maids and servants The donations of lands given to them were considered as the means of acquiring religious merit and glory Thus King Vidagdha granted lands to a Brāhmaṇa named Nanduka for acquiring religious merit, for the increase of the glory of his parents and himself, for the sake of the the bliss of the next world and in order to cross the ocean of existence [4]

While the Brāhmanas were the recipients of royal charity, they also made gifts for works of public utility Thus we hear of a Brāhmana constructing a fountain of water at Dadvai [5]

The Brāhmanas in ancient Chamba were known, as in other parts of India, by their particular śākhās and gōtras Thus the recipients of king Vidagdha's and Sōmavarman's grants were of the Vājasanēyī - śākhā and of the Kaśyapa-gōtra,[6] and that of king Āsata's grant belonged to the Kaśyapa-gōtra [7]

Besides the Brāhmanas and the other three known castes, we find mention of such low castes as the Mēdās, the Āndhrakas, the Dhīvaras and the Chāṇḍālas in a 10th century copper plate charter issued by king Vidagdha of Chamba [8]

The Mēdās are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* [9] According to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha, they ate the flesh of dead cattle Manu describes Mēdā as an offspring of a Vaidēhaka male and a Nishāda woman, who dwelt outside the village and whose main business was to kill wild beasts [10]

The Āndhrakas, according to Manu,[11] were a mixed caste born of Vaidēhaka father and Kāravāra mother The functions of the Āndhrakas were the same as those of the Mēdās

The Dhīvaras according to Gautama[12] were a pratilōma caste born of Vaiśya

male and Kshatriya female Their main business was to catch fish

The Chāndālas are widely mentioned in Smṛiti and Kāvya literature and in such early works as Taittreya Brāhmana, Chhāndōgya Upanishad, Brihadāranyaka Upanishad and the Ashtādhyāyī In the Chhāndōgya Upanishad[13] they are ranked with the dog and the boar In Smriti works, the Chāṇḍālas are described as a mixed caste born of a Śūdra from a Brāhmana woman[14] According to Manu, the Chāṇḍālas were to live outside the village, use garments on dead bodies as their clothes and were to act as hangmen when the king so ordered

The Chāṇḍālas are also described by the Chinese traveller Fahien According to him, they had to live outside the town and give notice of their approach when entering a town or a market place by striking a piece of wood so that others might not get polluted by their contact[15] According to Alberuni,[16] the business of the Chāṇḍālas was to hang persons when they were sentenced to death by the judicial authority

The Chāṇḍālas are also mentioned by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarangini* According to him, though Chāndālas were booted down upon by the people[17] they also served as royal body-guards or as watchmen[18] and at times they were engaged by the selfish conspirators as agents for killing their political rivals[19]

The mention of these low castes in a 10th century document, referred to above, would show that they continued to form part of the social community in ancient Chamba

Position of Women

Women in ancient Chamba occupied an honoured position in society They were the object of highest devotion and love of their husbands who often gave expression to their conjugal devotion by constructing fountains for the attainment of religious merit by their wives in the next world Thus Rājānaka Gōga, feeling deeply afflicted at the passing away of his wife Sūramatī, had a fountain of clear water constructed to ensure bliss for her in the next world[20] Similarly Rājānaka Dēvaprasāda erected a fountain for the attainment of heavenly bliss by his consort Mēkhalā[21] The husband's sincerity of love for his wife is also proved by the Sarahan *Praśasti* which records the erection of a Śiva temple by Sātyaki to perpetuate the memory of his spouse Sōmaprabhā[22]

The conjugal fidelity of Indian women is proverbial and we find women in ancient Chamba never failing in their duty to reciprocate the love and devotion of their husbands by building religious institutions and donating liberally for works of public utility, for ensuring the heavenly bliss of their lords in the next world Thus we hear of Queen Rārdhā having constructed a Śiva temple for the attainment of religious merit by her husband Salākaravarman[23] Another queen, Balhā, erected a fountain for the sake of the bliss of her lord in the next world[24]

As regards the custom of *satī* the inscriptions indicate that though it was in vogue it was not universally practised

The Rājānaka Nāgapāla of Chamba at the death of his father prevented his mother from becoming *sati*[25] Queen Rārdhā survived her husband Salākaravarman[26]

Widows after the death of their husbands led a life of austerity and piety and took part in religious donations Thus the widowed queen Balhā, after being dissuaded from consigning herself to the flames, emaciated herself by prolonged fasting and increased her charity, her compassion to the poor and devotion to Krishna[27]

Chamba presents a striking contrast o certain parts of Himachal as, for example, Kangra where the plight of women was miserable Even their chastity was not secure at the hands of the feudal lords For example, it is stated in the Baijnath *Praśastis* that the rulers thought the soveeignty over a town to yield its legitimate esult only by the rape of the wives of heir subjects[28] There were noble exceptions oo, as we learn that the ruling chief Lakshmanachandra of Kiragrāma took a vow after his pilgrimage to Kēdāranātha hat thenceforth he would treat the wives of others as his own sisters[29]

Food And Drinks

Among the foods and drinks that were popular in ancient Chamba, the inscriptions mention *dhānya* and *gökshira* *Dhānya*, of which we find the earliest mention in the *Rigvēda*[30], denotes grain in general The Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad[31] mentions as many as ten kinds of grain However, in he hill regions of Kangra, Chamba and Kashmir *dhānya* usually denotes paddy

Gōkshīra means cow's milk which, from Vedic times, has been a favourite diet of Indians and also a source of income for a villager

It would seem that the staple food of poeple in ancient Chamba was rice and that milk was a favourite drink in ancient Chamba as in other parts of India

House And Furniture

Houses in ancient Chamba as at present must have been made of wood and stone as these were the most easily available building material As regards furniture, the most commonly used articles appear to have been *pitha*, *pīthikā* and *khaṭvā*, mentioned in the Sungal copper plate grant of king Vidagdha[32]

The word *pitha* of which we find the earliest mention in the Grihya-sūtras[33] is explained in the Amarakōsha[34] as seat (āsanam, upavēśanādhārah) made of metal, stone or wood *Pitha* would thus indicate a stool or a chair

Pithikā, which also occurs in the Rāmāyana,[35] is explained by Monier Williams[36] as a stool or a bench It is represented by modern *pidhi* in Chamayali and Panjabi which denotes a smaller stool with wooden legs and with seat made of strings, cane or wooden planks

Khatvā which is mentioned in such early works as the Ashṭādhyāyī,[37] Mahābhārata,[38] Manusmriti,[39] etc, is explained in the lexicons as *Khatyatē kānkshyatē nidrārthibhih,*[40] that which is desired or sought by the persons going to sleep In the Amarakōsha[41] it is described as synonym of *paryanka* or *palyanka* meaning couch It would thus denote a bedstead, a couch or

a cot The modern Hindi derivative of it, viz, *khāt* means a cot

It would thus appear that in the 10th century, the common articles of furniture that a villager possessed in Chamba were stool, bench or a smaller stool and cot, all probably made of wood, the only cheaply available material

Economic Conditions

Agriculture

Agriculture has been the principal means of livelihood of Indian people from early Vedic times to this day The copper plate inscriptions of Chamba furnish encouraging information of the land system as it prevailed in ancient Chamba during the 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries

Lands known by their Names

In the first instance, we find that the lands in ancient Chamba were given proper names Thus the two pieces of land donated by king Vidagdha bore the names *Sēri* and *Lavāla*[42] Besides the cultivated lands, the fields, kitchen gardens and the pasture grounds also bore special names We find the mention of *Śabdabagga*, *Prāhabagga* and *Khambagga* as the names of fields and *Pushkarī* as the name of a pasture ground[44] and *Yamalikā* as the name of a kitchen garden

Types of land

The two principal types of land were *khila*[45] and *pōlāchya*[46] *Khila* lands were the waste lands which were not under cultivation The modern derivative of the term, viz, *Khili* in Chamba denotes the same The term *khila* occurs in such early works as *Atharvavēda*[47] and *Śatapatha Brāhmana*[48] and is explained in the *Amarakōsha*[49] as uncultivated land The *Nāradasmriti*[50] explains it as a tract of land which has not been under cultivation for three years,

Pōlāchya were the cultivated lands According to Vogel[51] the term is preserved in the modern Hindi word *Pōlācha* which means 'land under constant cultivation' So far as the cultivated lands were concerned, they must have been at least of two types, one used for the cultivation of rice and the other for the cultivation of wheat, maize, sugarcane and such other crops The former is mentioned in the Brahmor copper plate grant as *Kōlhika*[52] Even to-day in Chamba an irrigated piece of land used for the cultivation of rice is called *Kōlhika* The word *Kōlhika* is obviously derived from the vernacular *Kōhl* which is the corrupt form of Sanskrit *Kulya* meaning 'a channel used for irrigation'

Besides the two named above, we find mention of a third type of land called *Upakhila* This term as compared to *Khila* would denote semi or partially waste land

Ownership of land

Before we discuss the question of ownership of land in ancient Chamba, it would be worthwhile to have a clear idea of what ownership in its legal sense implies

The earlier authors of *Smritis* make a clear distinction between ownership and possession Thus Yājñavalkya states that possession acquires validity when it is accompanied by a clear title (*āgamēna viśuddhēna*) and is not valid without the same According to Brihaspati possession becomes valid

accompanied with legitimate title
[54] Nārada, whose view is more
tates that, where there is enjoyment
e of any sort, a title is required
o produce proprietary right Mere
is not sufficient to create propre-
A clear title having been esta-
possession acquires validity But
without a clear title does not
evidence of ownership [55] The
between the two terms is made
pect of terminology Thus owner-
dicated by the pronoun *svam* and
ct terms *svatva*, *svāmya*, *svāmitva*,
e possession is usually indicated
rb '*bhuj*' (to enjoy) and its deriva-

uthors of the great medieval Digests
cred Law give clearer and more
efinitions of ownership Thus
to Jīmūtavāhana, the author of
bhāga, "ownership implies the
the object owned, of being used
wner according to his pleasure" [56]
to Mitramiśra ownership is an
indicative of the quality in the
ned by being used according to

ssential qualities associated with
as referred to by Gautama[58] and
e the rights of sale, gift and

it is clear from the definitions
ove that ownership constitutes a
right according to which the
use the object according to his
may put it on sale, give away
make it over as mortgage Poss-
the other hand, does not include any such right Here it may be mentioned that the *Smritis* make it clear that like other objects, movable or immovable, land also can be owned The *Smritis* and the *Arthaśāstra* also permit the sale, gift and mortgage of owned lands

The copper plate grants of Chamba record grants of land by kings Yugākaravarman, Vidagdha, Sōmavarman and Āsaṭa In the grants of Yugākaravarman, Sōmavarman and Āsata, the names are mentioned of persons occupying the lands at the time of the grants From what has been said above about the ownership, it is clear that the kings held proprietary rights over the donated lands The terms '*bhuñjamana*' '*satka*'[60] and '*sthita*'[61] in this connection would denote that these lands at the time of donations, were in the temporary possession of the named individuals

Though on the basis of these few instances, it would be rash to suggest that the ownership of the entire soil in Chamba vested in the king, it would be far more reasonable to suggest that there did exist some royal fields in ancient Chamba which were owned by the rulers themselves and which were, at times, given by them on lease to tenants

That kings in ancient India owned lands as personal property is shown by the references to the royal farms in the *Arthaśāstra* [62] Moreover, there is evidence of the existence of royal farms and allotments in the villages from the Maurya up to the Gupta period

Agricultural Products

The principal crops sown in ancient Chamba were paddy and sugarcane, referred

to as *dhānya*[63] and *ikshu*.[64] *Dhānya*, of which we find the earliest mention in the *Rigvēda*, usually denotes grain in general. As pointed out above, in hill regions of Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra, the term is used only for paddy. *Ikshu* denotes sugarcane which is even now grown in some parts of Chamba.

The Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagdha mentions *rōchika* and *chitōlā*, the exact meaning of which is uncertain. Vogel[65] takes them to be the names of some agricultural products. According to D. C. Sircar[66] they denote certain obligations or levies the exact nature of which is not known. However, both the terms are mentioned along with *sasya* (coin), *chārana* (fodder for cattle) and *ikshu* (sugarcane) and, judged from the context, the suggestion of Vogel seems more plausible. The two terms are not known from any literary source and it is difficult to establish their identity.[67]

Methods of Irrigation

The cultivation of paddy presupposes the existence of a proper system of irrigation. Though, from our records, we do not get evidence of any large scale irrigation works, yet the occurrence of certain words, such as *kōlhika*,[68] *kullaka*,[69] *kuppatta*,[70] *pāniya*[71] and *udakasihāra*[72] enables us to form some idea of the methods of irrigation employed in ancient Chamba.

The word *kōlhika* is derived from *kohl* which is the present name for a channel drawn from the hill stream and used for irrigating the rice fields.

Kullaka is derived from *kulla* or Sanskrit *Kulya* and denotes a canal.

Kuppatta according Vogel[73] probably denotes a rivulet.

Udakasīhāra is not known from any other source and its exact meaning doubtful. According to Vogel[74] it means a water course, but it is not possible to explain it etymologically.

Pānīya appears to be the same as *pāna* which denotes a canal.[75]

It would thus seem that in ancient Chamba, irrigation was effected mainly by channels, canals or miniature cuts drawn from the hill streams and rivulets. Even now, the channels drawn from the hill streams and generally known as *Kuhl* form the main source of artificial irrigation in Chamba.

Land Survey

Land being the main source of subsistence of the people in ancient Chamba, need seems to have been keenly felt for the proper survey of lands and the demarcation of their boundaries. This avoided the quarrels arising out of land disputes, besides facilitating the location of different pieces of land situated in different localities.

Thus in order to give specific location of two pieces of land named *Sērī* and *Lavāla* donated by king Vidagdha, the Sungal copper plate grant gives the following detailed description of their boundaries.[76] (The boundaries of *Sērī*) "on the east the limit of the rent free land (agrahāra) of

e of) Pāṭala, on the south the n as 'the great slope', on the west, of the slope of the *Khanıbagga* the north the lımıt known as *a*"

boundarıes of *Lavāla*) "on the the pıecıpıce, on the south sıde ɔck, on the west sıde the rıvulet(?), by name, on the north sıde the ıe path to the pasture ground of

s, the cultıvated lands had theır , or *sīmas* These lımıts usually ıf (1) *tıına* (2) *gōyūthī* and (3) *gō-*

whıch lıterally means grass seems r a stretch of grass neaı the cultı- s The meanıng of *gōyūthı* ıs e The word *yūtha* ıs often met ınskrıt lıterature and denotes 'a erefore, *gōyūthī* can be explaıned neetıng place of the herds of /ogel[78] equates ıt wıth '*gavyūtı*' met wıth ın the copper plate , and renders ıt as 'grazıng ground

a whıch occurs ın the *Āpastambıya* [79] and the *Rāmāyana*[80] and whıch ıly met wıth ın the copper plate ans a pasture

, the lımıts noted above a cultı- was bounded bv two passages, ıtrance and the other for exıt ıd *pravēśa* are mentıoned ın thıs It had also a kıtchen garden *vātıkā* attached to ıt, whıch was roducıng vegetables. The mentıon of *Ārāma*[81] and *vıśıāma* wıthın the boundarıes of the cultıvated fields would show that a cultıvated field also contaıned parks and dwellıngs, whıch were used by vıllagers as meetıng and restıng places

Land Measures

The standard land measure ın ancıent Chamba was *bhū* or *bhūmı* One *bhū* consısted of four sub-measures called *bhūmāshkas*[82] The land measure *bhū* was ın vogue ın several other parts of Indıa as well, as ıs ındıcated by ıts frequent mentıon ın copper plate ınscrıptıons Its value, however, dıffered ın dıfferent localıtıes In Chamba ıts value was equıvalent to 17 acres Vogel, calculatıng the measure of land donated by kıng Āsata, remarks, "The land granted ın Āsata's charter, whıch ıs stated to be 1 *bhū* 6 *bhūmāshka*, ın other words 2½ *bhū*, has an area of 14 *lahrıs* or 42 acres From whıch ıt would follow that one *bhū* of land corresponds wıth nearly 5½ *lahrıs* or nearly 17 acres[83]

The area of land was also determıned accordıng to the quantıty of seed requıred for sowıng ıt We find the mentıon of *pıtaka* ın thıs connectıon It ıs mentıoned ın the Brahmor copper plate grant of Yugākaravarman[84] where the area of the granted land ıs expressed ın *pıtaka* The land measure *pıtaka* ıs also mentıoned ın the Sankheda plate of Dadda II of the (Kalachurı) year 392,[85] but ıts exact sıgnıficance ıs uncertaın Vogel[86] suggests that ıt may be equated wıth modern *pīrā* whıch ıs equal to 40 seers In the Gupta age also, we find that the area of land was determıned accordıng to the measure of graın wıth whıch ıt could be sown Thus we

have references to *adhavāpa*, *drōnavāpa*, *kulyavāpa* in the Damodarpur copper plates [87] In the Gunaigarh plate of Vainyagupta, dated A D 507-08, we find the area of land measured in terms of *pātakas* According to the calculations of Dr Sircar[89] one *pātaka* is equal to 40 *drōnavāpas* and according to the references given by him, one *drōnavāpa* is equal to 48 acres in certain cases and 25 in others which thus gives the value of one *pātaka* as 1920 acres and 1000 acres respectively Dr Maittey, on the other hand, calculates the area of one *pātaka* as varying between 72 to 88 acres [90]

It seems likely though not quite definite that the *pitaka* of our record is the same as *pātaka* of the Gunaigarh plate The modern Bengali term for *pātaka* is *pārā* which closely agrees with *pirā* the modern equivalent of *pitaka* in Chamba

Besides the *pitaka* noted above, the other important grain measure was *khārī* It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate grant[91] where Sōmavarman is stated to have granted annually one *khāri* of grain from the granary (*Kōshthagāra*) of Bhadravarma (modern Bhadrama) to a Vishnu temple

Khāri, of which we find the earliest mention in the *Rigvēda*,[92] is explained in the *Arthaśāstra*[93] as equivalent to 16 *drōnas* D C Sircar, quoting Bengali authors, remarks that the value of one *drōna* lies between one maund fourteen seers and two maunds[94] *Khāri* is also mentioned in the *Rājatarangini*[95] and this grain measure has been in use in Kashmir from early times to this day[96] It consists of 16 *traks* or pacca seers Since the value of *khārī* and *drōna* differed in different localities in ancient India, it is not known what exact value th two measures had in ancient Chamb and Kangra They are no longer used no in the two hill districts

Revenue System

The copper plate inscriptions do not fur nish any direct evidence of taxation in ancien Chamba but the indirect reference in th Sungal copper plate grant to certain roya dues which the subjcts, resident in the enjoy ed land were to deliver to the grante enable us to form some idea of the revenu system as it was in practice in ancien Chamba

The royal dues mentioned in this connec tion are

1) *bhāga*, 2) *bhōga*, 3) *kara* and 4) *hirany*

The terms *bhāga* and *bhōga*, frequentl met with in copper plate inscriptio were at first taken by Fleet and Kielho as one fiscal expression and translated 'enjoyment of taxes'[98] and 'share of t produce [99] respectively But now they a taken as two distinct fiscal terms and a explained as such

Bhāga is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* along with *sitā*, *bali*, *kara*, *vanik*, e T Ganapati Shastri, commenting on t term, explains it as '*dhānya-shad-bhāgah*' i e, share of produce amounting to on sixth Maittey,[102] however, points out th the king's share of the produce did n universally amount to one sixth He refe to Bhattasvāmin who, commenting on t above cited passage of *Arthaśāstra*, expla *shadbhāga* in the general sense of royal sha (*rāja bhāga*) and adds that the term on sixth includes by implication other rat

kara in the copper plate inscriptions and evidently denotes some tax Being mentioned along with *bhāga* and *dhānya*[117] it is usually interpreted as the king s share of produce paid in kind the term may be taken to denote tax in cash levied upon certain crops where assessment in kind was not possible According to Dr Ghoshal, "in the medieval period of Indian history, while the land revenue, before the revenue reforms of Todarmal, was paid mostly in kind, there were certain classes of crops called *zabti*, the levy of which was always assessed in cash since it was very difficult to divide it into shares and, as such, *hiranya* may be taken to denote a levy or tax of this nature"[118]

Another important source of revenue was *Śulka* the officer responsible for the collection of which was called *Śaulkika* frequently mentioned in our copper plate grants *Śulka* as a fiscal term occurs in such early works as *Atharvavēda* Dharmasūtras[120] and the *Ashtādhyāyi*[121] In the *Amarakōsha*[122] it is explained as *ghattādidēya*, i e, duties paid at the ferries, etc Kshīrasvāmin, commenting on the expression *ghattādidēya* takes *Śulka* to denote the ferry duties, the tolls paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties paid by the merchants The term also occurs in Manu[123] and is explained by the commentators as duties paid by the merchants *The Arthaśāstra*[124] mentions the term quite frequently and from several references to it in the said text it may be explained as custom or toll duties levied on merchants and collected at the ferries, at the custom houses or octroi posts located at the main gate of the town, at the ports and at the frontier stations

From what has been said above, it would appear that the main sources c revenue in ancient Chamba were 1) land revenue paid in kind or cash, 2) custom an toll duties and 3) certain periodical taxe called *kara* Besides, the villagers we expected to make frequent supplies of flower fruits, firewood and the like to the king

Coins

The coin denomination prevalent i Chamba and Kangra in the 12th and the 13t centuries A D was *dramma* It is mentioned i the Luj fountain inscription of the first yea of Jāsata dated 1105-06[125] The language c the epigraph being extremely corrupt, it not exactly known in what connectio it is mentioned Vogel thinks that the e pression *mūla* (*mūlya*) 20 *dramma* occurrin in the record denotes the cost of grain (men tioned as *dhamika* or *dhānya*), supplied b the donor for a feast held on the occasio of the erection of the fountain slab[126]

The term *dramma* which is general believed to be the derivative of Greek *dr chma*, was, according to D R Bhandarka a coin denomination prevalent all over No thern India 'in the late mediaeval perio that is from 9th to the 13th centuries[127]

In his opinion, 'the earliest record whe this word has been traced is the Gwali inscription of Bhōjadēva of the Imperial Pr tihāra dynasty and dated 875 A D[128] How ever, the term occurs even earlier in Yaudhēya coin of 3rd century A D[129] whi bears the legend '*dēvasya drama Brahmai* which according to S K Chakraborty may be construed as "*Brahmanyadēvasy drama*' meaning the coin dedicated to Bra manyadēva or Kārttikēya, the tutelary dei of the Yaudhēya tribe The name *dramn*

ording to Bhandarkar[181] signified only coins in silver and it would thus appear the coinage used in ancient Chamba of silver This also reflects the prosous economic conditions prevailing in hill district in the 12th century

ıstry

The only industry of which we get ample lence in the inscriptions is stone-work ne work appears to have been a very ular industry in ancient Chamba People aged in this industry were called *sūtradhāra*[182] Though this term is intimately associated with the ancient Indian Dramatic literature, denoting a person in charge of the stage performance, it is also met with frequently in the inscriptions and usually signifies persons engaged in the construction of stone temples or images In the inscriptions of Chamba, however, they mostly figure as the builders of water fountains Their extraordinary skill in stone work in Chamba is amply testified by a number of extant profusely carved fountain slabs which display craftsmanship of unique character

ɔot-Notes

1 Vogel, J Ph *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vol I, pp 159 ff
2 Kalhaṇa, *Rājataranginī*, vii, 218, 588, viii, 323, 538, 1083, 1443, 1531
3 These are given in detail in the Sungal copper plate inscription of King Vidagdha, Vogel, Op cit, p 167
4 *Ibid*
5 *Ibid* p 177
6 *Ibid*, pp 167 and 185
7 *Ibid*, p 199
8 *Ibid*, pp 165-67
9 *Anuśāsana Parvan*, xxii
10 *Manu Smṛiti*, x 36
11 *Ibid*, X 36, 48
12 *Gautama-Dharma sūtra*, iv 17
13 *Chhāndōgya Upanishad* v 10 7
14 *Manu Smṛiti* v 131, x 12, 16, xi 175 etc, *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, I 93
15 *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Trans Legge, p 43
16 *India*, Trans Sachau, Vol I, p 102
17 *Rājataranginī* v 77, vi 79, 192
18 *Ibid*, iv 516 vii 309
19 *Ibid*, viii 304, 325, 1103
20 Vogel, op cit, pp 229-30

21 *Ibid* p 180

22 *Ibid*, p 157

23 *Ibid* p 194

24 *Ibid*, p 212

25 *Ibid*, p [illegible]

26 *Ibid* p 194

27 *Ibid*, p 211

28 Baijnath Praśastis No 1, line 20, *EI*, I, pp 97 ff

29 *Ibid* line 19

30 *Rigveda* viii 97 10

31 vi 3 22

32 Vogel op cit p 167

Vaikhanasa Gṛihya-sūtra, 4 13 10 11

34 II 6 138

35 V 3 [illegible]

36 Sanskrit English Dictionary p 629

37 II 1 126

38 V 1474

39 VIII 357

40 Vāchaspatyam, p 94

41 II 6 138

42 Vogel, op cit, p 167

43 *Śabdabagga* is mentioned in the Brahmor Grant of Yugākaravarman, Vogel, op cit, p [illegible] and *Prāhabagga* and *Khambagga* in the Sungal Grant of Vidagdha, Ibid, p 167 *Bagga* obviously denotes a vernacular term *bāg* meaning a field

44 *Ibid* p 167

45 *Ibid*, pp 167, 185, 193, 199

46 *Ibid*, p 167

47 Vii 115 4

48 Viii 3 4 1

49 II, 1 5

50 XI 26

51 Vogel, op cit, p 168, fn 2

52 *Ibid*, p 162

53 *Yajñavalkya Smriti*, II 29

54 *Brihaspati Smriti*, vii 24-25, 30

55 *Narada Smriti*, I 84, 85

56 *Dāyabhāga* quoted in Vyavahāramayūkha, Trans V N Mandlik, p 31 n Also see U N Ghoshal, The Agrarian system in Ancient India, p 85 and fn 21

57 *Viramitrōdaya*, quoted in *Vyavahāramayūkha*, p 89, also see Ghoshal, op cit, p 86 and fn 23

58 X 39

59 VIII 199

60 *Satka*, which is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions, is explained by D C Sircar (Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p 306) as the Sanskritised form of Prakrit *Santaka*, meaning 'the holding of', 'belong to '

61 It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Sōmavarman and Āsaṭa, Vogel, op cit, p 193, and has been translated by Vogel as 'held by, Ibid p 196 One of the meanings of the word given in Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary p 1274 is 'belonging to' Both *Satka* and *Sthita* would in our case denote temporary belonging or possession

62 II 15

63 Vogel, op cit, p 194

64 *Ibid*, p 167

65 *Ibid*, p 165

66 Sircar D C, op cit, pp 75, 281

67 *Rōchika* may be the same as *rōchaka*, one of the meanings of which given by Monier Williams, op cit, p 888, is 'a kind of onion', *grantha-parna bhēda*

68 Vogel, op cit, p 160

69 *Ibid* p 164

70 *Ibid*

71 *Ibid*

72 *Ibid*

73 *Ibid*, p 168 *Kūpaka* in Sanskrit means a small pit or a hole dug in the dry bed of a rivulet for the collection of water Monier Williams' Dictionary, p 300 It is possible that *Kuppiṭṭa* also my stand for such a pool or depression where water is collected

74 *Ibid*

75 Monier Williams, op cit, p 613

76 Vogel, op cit, p 167

77 *Ibid*

78 *Ibid*, pp 167, 168

79 I 2 4

80 IV 44 80

81 *Ārāma* which also occurs in the Aśōkan inscriptions is explained by Lüders as a 'Park', vide his Glossary of Asokan Inscriptions, p 149 In the title deeds of Chamba it is generally accompanied by the word vṛiksha and is, as such, variously rendered by Vogel as 'garden' and 'orchard' (Op cit, pp 187, 196, 200) However, it may denote a grassy plot of land surrounded by trees and used by villagers as a meeting place Cf Monier Williams, op cit, p 150

82 This is indicated by the Chamba copper plate grant, op cit, which records the total grant of 15 *bhū* of land, divided into two portions, one consisting of 2 *bhūmāshkas* and the other of 14 *bhū* and 2 *bhūmāshkas*

83 Op cit, p 191
84 Op cit
85 *CII*, IV, p 77
86 Op cit, p 160
87 *EI*, XV, pp 130 ff
88 *IHQ*, 1930, pp 45 ff
89 Select Inscriptions, p 342, fn 7
90 Maittey, S K, Economic Life of Northern India, pp 40 41
91 Op cit
92 IV 32 17
93 II 19
94 Sircar, D C, op cit, p 101
95 V 71, also cf Stein, trans vol I, p 196 n
96 Modern Kashmiri equivalent of *khārī* is *khār*
97 Op cit
98 Fleet *CII*, III, p 254, fn 4
99 *EI*, VII, p 160
100 II 6
101 Arthaśāstra (edited by I Ganapati Shastri), p 186
102 Maittey, op cit, p 57
103 *Ibid*
104 Ghoshal, U N, History of Revenue system, pp 34-35
105 Op cit
106 *Vide* his commentary on Manusmṛiti, VIII 307
107 *EI*, I, p 75 n
108 *Ibid*, VIII, p 44
109 VIII 307
110 Karaḥ varsha-dēyaḥ Bhādrapadika Vāsantikādy-upādānam, *vide* Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commenta o Arthaśāstra, II 15
111 *Pratyēkam sthāvara jangamādi-dēyah karah*
112 Economic Life of Northern India, p 59 Maittey's explanation is the same as given by G sh in his Historiography, p 173
113 History of Revenue system, p 36
114 V 2
115 Op cit
116 *Apīdayitvā kara-vishṭi-pranaya-kriyābhih paura-janapadam*

117 *EI*, I, p 13, IV, p 8, VI, p 28, etc

118 Ghoshal, op cit, pp 60-61

119 III 29 3

120 Gautama Dharma sūtra, X 25, Āpastamba Dharma sūtra, II 26 9

121 V 1 47

122 II 8 27

123 VIII 307

124 II 6, 16, 21, 28, 35, etc

125 Vogel, op cit, p 205

126 *Ibid*, p 204

127 Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, p 206

128 *Ibid*

129 Smith, Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, p 186

130 *IHQ*, 1939, Vol XV, p 70

131 Op cit, p 207

132 The term occurs at the end of most of the fountain inscriptions of Chamba and figures as the designation of a person who prepared the fountain slab It is also mentioned in the Baijnath Praśasti, No 1, line 30 where certain Nāyaka is described as a *sūtradhāra* and as one who, along with certain Thodduka, is stated to have fashioned with the chisel, the Śiva temple along with its *mandapas*

7 EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT GUNTUPALLI

I Karthikeya Sarma

Guntupalli (Lat 17° 0' N , Long 81°8', District West Godavari, Andhra Pradesh) is well known for its rare rock-cut architectural ventures [1] The credit of first discovery of the caves and publication of an inscription in first century A D characters goes to Robert Sewell [2] Alexander Rea[3] excavated many votive *stūpas*, a brick *chaitya*, etc , but no epigraph was found by him A H Longhurst[4] visited in 1916 and reported a fragmentary inscription on one of the broken steps leading to the circular brick *chaitya-gṛiha* at the eastern end of the middle terrace Much later (late) M Venkataramayya and K Raghavachary[5] undertook a small-scale clearance work on the middle terrace and brought to light brick and stone-built *stūpas* with paved platforms Inside one of the circular *chaitya-grihas*, lime stone Buddha images, all in round, in *abhaya-mudrā*, standing in *samapāda* over lotus-pedestals and robed in a heavy lower cloth and a *Sanghati* which leaves their right chest bare, were found installed in a later phase The *stūpa* was also found embellished with lime stone crescentic slab veneer with *padmapītha* as the base Besides, pottery wares of Black-and-Red and Red slipped wares, a few reliquaries were found Most remarkable, however, was the discovery of identical *mandapa* pillar records of the time of a Mahāmēghavāhana king by (late) M Venkataramayya and R Subrahmanyam[6] in the year 1968

With a view to initiate proper conservation measures, the author planned a systematic study and exposition of the various structural units, rock-cut *chaityas*, etc , in their chronological sequence These operations were spread over two seasons, during the years 1974-75 and 1975-76. A wealth of inscribed architectural members, minor antiquities besides a smaller cave at the lower terrace overhead of the ravine, contributed substantially rich information on the religious history and architecture of this unique site In this paper, all the epigraphs[7] so obtained are noticed, for the first time, with the kind permission of the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, besides reviewing the older published records from the site

Location and Details of Discovery (Pl I)

Before each record is dealt with in detail their find-spots and sequence need be stated (Pl I) Pillar inscriptions grouped under no 1 are found on the south-east platform adjacent to the bigger stone *stūpa* leading to the circular brick *chaitya-gṛiha* at the eastern entrance (not covered in Pl I)

A new cave of smaller dimensions with a rectangular opening measuring 4 metres north-south and 3 60 metres east-west was brought to light Its side walls had arched niches, plain and empty The open court is

arated from the inner chambers by massive angular pillars and series of walls The itage had originally a paving of slate and e-stone slabs Several among these early r slabs were found disturbed and reused by the medieval occupants who not only lled the area but raised the ground floor, t platforms and bounded the edges of the ace with massive brick-veneered mud s The clearance of brick debris in this revealed a few inscribed floor slabs (nos and 11) of the earlier period, and an ribed bronze image of Bōdhisattva mapāni (no 14) from the later occupa-al phase of the medieval period Nos 5 and 6 (a stone reliquary), were found ie *pradakshinā-patha* area of the bigger e *stūpa* near the standing columns of the *dapa* It may be noted that this railed *a* and the Khondalite stone pillared hall e unearthed by A Rea Again from the same place a stone plaque containing a -lined inscription (no 13) was found

The records nos 7, 8, 10 and 12 were id engraved over the border facets of the -stone pillars of the usual Amaravati , simple square shafts with octagonal mid-on, chamfered at the sides and containing lotus medallions The maximum length he pillar is 4 43 meters from top to toe squarish base, however, measures 40x37

All the pillars were found fallen to the ind in the southern frontage of the bigger *dapa* whose pillars are still in position e weather-beaten blackish Khondalite ts are crude and comparable to the ones he Orissan caves at Khandagiri and yagiri[8] and datable to 2nd century B C lime-stone examples, as the inscriptions hem reveal, were meant for the expanded *dapa* set-up during first century A D

I Inscription Assigned to 2nd-Ist century B C

No 1/B 7 It is a pillar record of the time of a Mahāmēghavāhana ruler An identical[9] text was found engraved on four ashy grey lime-stone pillars of the usual Amarāvatī type R Subrahmanyam[10] dated the record to 2nd century B C and identified the Mahā-mēghavāhana king referred to as *Kaliga-Mahi-shakādhipati*, as none other than *Mahārāja* Khāravēla of the Hathigumpha inscription, whereas D C Sircar[11] read the king's name as Siri-Sāda, placed him as a distant successor of the Kalinga king and related him to the Aira king Mānasada of the Velpuru inscrip tion (district Guntur) dated to 2nd-3rd century A D [12] I shall state in brief my reading and interpretation of the record A fresh estampage of the first pillar is published here (Pl II-1)

1 *Mahārājasa Kaliga-[Ma]-*
2 *hisakādhipatisa Mahā-*
3 *Mēkhavāhanasa Siri Sā-*
4 *dasa lēkhakasa Chula-Gō*
5 *masa madapo dānam*

"Gift of *mandapa*[13] by Mahārāja Śrī Sāta *i e*, Saptī, Lord of the Kalinga-Mahishaka coun-tries (and) belonging to Mahāmēghavāhana dynasty The scribe (of the record) is *Kshudra Gōma* i e, Gōma, the younger " The charac-ters are closely comparable to Khāravēla's Hathigumpha *praśasti* as well as the Naneghat record of the early Sātavāhana rulers The letters *la* and *ha* are peculiarly written, the former like the inverted english letter 'L', whereas *ha* is horizontally laid The vowel marks are faint and even omitted in some cases The interchange of letters *ta* for *da*,

kha for *ga* could be seen The palaeography clearly points to a date of 2nd century or early first century B C In no case this inscription can be assigned to 2nd century A D in the light of the numerous records from the same place noticed below The epigraphical wealth of Guntupalli presents a sumptuous material for a closer and critical study of script styles in a sequential and chronological order The associated structural vestiges stylistically warrant a date not later than 1st century B C

R Subrahmanyam reads line-4, as *Siri Samdēśa lēkhakasa*, meaning as "the recorder of the royal message or orders" of the Mahāmēghavāhana king D C Sircar's amendation of the passage as *Siri Sādasa lēkhakasa* is clearly acceptable The name of the king is undoubtedly Siri Sāda or Śrī Sāta, but basing on this proper name no relationship need be assumed with the Sātavāhanas Sāta, Sātakarni, etc were popular personal[14] names during the period like *vāhana*-ending family names The king is described in the record as *Kalinga-mahishakādhipati i e*, the lord of both Kalinga and Mahishaka countries, and he belonged to the Mahāmēghavāhana family The donee of the *mandapa* appears to be the king himself and the qualifying phrase *mandapo dānam* should be applied to Sāda The writer of the record (here he is only a scribe) is one Chula-Gōma In many of the royal grants we usually find the name of *lekhaka* mentioned at the end but instances are not altogether absent when the writer as well as the scribe are separately mentioned irregularly in the text In the present record this could be an error of the scribe though not of the writer (*lēkhaka*) or composer (*rachayitā*)

The proper identification of the Mahishaka country is very vital to solve many historical and cultural events We get a glimpse of *Mahārāja* Khāravēla's political ambitions from his Hathigumpha *Praśasti* [15] In the eleventh regnal year *Mahārāja* Khāravēla made a dent into the Andhra country, the market town Pithuṇḍa founded by an *Ava* king was ploughed This invasion of coastal Andhra by the Kalinga ruler was after his unsuccessful bid over Siri Sātakamni (*achitayita Sātakamnim*), who was then ruling west of the Kalinga country in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, the capital city being Musikanagara [16] Sylvain Levi[17] identified the market town Pithunda with Pihundra, the ancient metropolis designated by Ptolemy as the capital of the country of Maisoloi In Jaina Uttarādhyayana-sūtra, Pihumda is stated to be a sea coast town and sea-faring merchants are cited to be travelling by boat from Champa to Pihumḍa even in the days of Mahāvīra Kudura (Kodur or Gudur) is also an important centre mentioned by Ptolemy as in the country of Maisolia Dubruiel[18] takes the entire coast between Gōdāvarī and Krishnā as 'Maisolos' R Subrahmanyam located the 'Mahishaka' country as the region comprising the southern districts of the former Hyderabad State and upheld Mirashi's[19] view that the region was under Māna-Mahisha kings, but this territory cannot be regarded as contiguous to Kalinga The coins of Māna-Mahisha kings are known only from Karimnagar-Khammam Medak-Kondapur-Nalgonda regions and none was reported from coastal Andhra so far In the absence of any other evidence, it is difficult to locate the Mahishaka territory of the present record in the southern Mysore

yderabad area Several other views exist ie location of Mahisha[20] and if we have ice the origin of this territorial name to amily name or group of people living iat country, we may expect various shaka countries Basing on our inscrip- during the period the Mahishaka country irs to have been a contiguous territory alinga (see the single compound expres- *Kalinga - Mahishakādhipati*) and we fy this Mahishaka with the Maisolia ips a territory named after the river) oned in the geography of Ptolemy It e reasonable that the royal house of ja held this rich coastal Andhra terri- nd made a dent farther into the Tamil 'āṇḍyan kingdoms through this The ja power, at no time, appears to have nto contact with Karnataka or western uthern Maharashtra

ing Siri Sāta also pursued the religious of his illustrious predecessor We iat Khāravēla, during the 13th and gnal years, caused the codification of *ngas* and raised buildings for the asce- h stones and columns brought from niles King Sāta of our record thus accomplished the tasks initiated by his ous predecessor *Mahārāja* Khāravela tly added to his title *Mahishakādhipati* In the absence of any clear proof, the ship of the former with the latter to be a speculation Since the place iently known through the records (see as Mahānāgaparvata, the linguistic on attempted by R Subrahmanyam[21] origin of the place name Guntupalli ldu=palle' Prithu-anda and its identi- with Pitundra of Ptolemy appears to obable

No 2 Longhurst[22] found an inscription engraved in very early Brāhmī script on one of the broken steps leading to the circular brick *chaitya griha* at the eastern end of the middle terrace According to Longhurst, Krishna Sastry supplied him an English trans- lation He quotes him "Sānāda, the (female) pupil, who obeyed the orders of the (Buddhist) monk 'Suyajñanātha' (made these) steps" He also held that the Brāhmī characters are similar to those employed in about the 2nd century B C

But a perusal of the report of H Krishna Sastry[23] with the accompanying illustration (Pl II-2) clearly reveals that the record is of later date and Longhurst's reporting was erroneous The text of the published estampage is reproduced here

Thērasa bhayata Nadasa atevāsika Sānādasa dānam sōvā [*nam*]

"Gift of (the) step(s) by Sānāda, the disciple (*atēvāsika*), of the elder (*thera*)[24] venerable (*bhayata*), Namda

The characters also call for a few obser- vations As in the pillar record noted above, the letters *ka*, *ra* and *da* retain the archaic shape with long vertical endings But the emergence of the head-marks can be clearly noted Further the letter forms of *va*, *na* *ta*, and *bha* are somewhat developed The record could be assigned to about the close of 1st century B C

Apparently basing on Longhurst's rendering of the monk's name as Suyajñanātha, R Subrahmanyam and, after him, H D San- kalia[25] held that the name sounds like that of a Jaina teacher and consequently Jaina occu-

position and influence in the area was considerable But as stated earlier Jainism at this site was merely of a passing nature like the Kalinga power in this region which was soon [illegible] influence

In passing however we may state that in medieval period Jainism reappeared at this place too though not in the Buddhist site proper In the Sivāru lands of Kanthamanēnivarigūdem a hamlet of Jilakarragudem, about one km west, an extensive habitational site was found A granite image of a seated Jaina tirthankara[6] was found in the field called Gangadēvipādu here

II Inscriptions of 1st-2nd century A D

No 3 (GTI-1/74 no B 8 of *ARIE*, 1974-75)[2]

This single line inscription (Pl III-3) was found on a linear slab of grey lime stone, very much weathered and flaking off The extant length is 95 cms width 54 cms and thickness 9 cms The letters are somewhat cursive and the characters are datable to early 1st century A D The letter *na* is peculiar, both the horizontal strokes terminating with the left vertical The same form of *na* is also noticeable in no 10 line 4 (*Mahānāga*) The same form of letter survives for a long period as it appears again in record no 12, line-1 of the Sālankāyana times[25]

Mahānāgapavata nivasisa
mahānāvi(kas i)

"(Gift) of a Master-mariner (*mahānāvika*), resident of the great Nāgaparvata" The record is fragmentary and the gift might reasonably be taken as the very floor slab

Nos 4A and 4B Both are fragmentary in nature and datable to 1st century A D

No 4A (GTI-4/74 B 11 of *ARIE*, 1974-75) Found on a lime-stone fragment it reads *Sāmisa vi* This is not illustrated

No 4B On the eastern flank of the ravine, the rock face has revealed the existence of caves and shelters, besides structural votive *stūpas* amidst the scrub jungle However, the rock face is in utterly bad state due to weathering, the architectural features such as the partition walls, screens, windows, etc inside some of these caves and open shelters having almost disappeared But in the present example (first one in the series from west), a plain horse shoe shaped facade (Pl IV–A) is prominently seen from a considerable distance The cave faces south and is characterized by a long barrel-vaulted passage sidereally cut along the scarp The interior is plain and inaccessible with debris, the frontage is partly levelled and bunded also and existence of thatched canopy was evident from the grooves and sockets cut into the rock face above the *prastara* level and correspondingly on the floor Its sides are also dressed and on the right lower region close to the small *kudu* type niche, meant for lamp, a few inscribed letters, in two sets, were noticed one below the other (Pl IV-B) The first set reads *kaksha lēna* and the lower one *bhudhi*

The meaning of the first word is not clear and also its reading is tentative The letter *ksha* could well be *pō* and the form of *la* is peculiarly written, a type, however, common in Guntupalli records If the last letter is taken as *na*, it may perhaps stand for *lēna*, i e , cave Such expressions are of common occurrence in western Indian caves Budhi is obviously a personal name, perhaps that of the donee who caused the *lēna* to be

made These labels help us to date the cave to early first century A D and from its severely plain nature we can infer that this was a Hīnayāna retreat

No 5 (GT1-4/76)

This is also on a slab of weathered limestone broken at either ends and contained a single line inscription in the mid-region (Pl III-5)

Text *[Bu]dhinō atēvāsinēna bhikunēnadāna [m]*

"Gift of by Budhi a resident monk"

No 6 (GT1-5/74 B 12 of *ARIE*, 1974-75)

This is engraved clock-wise [Pl III-6] around the broader section of a sandstone cylindrical casket [lower portion] Such caskets resembling the *stūpa* in architectural detail, together with the lid portion, were found in large numbers from the site, and a few among them contained reliquaries but mostly they were votive offerings

The right loop is joined in the case of *sa* in *nikāyasa* The letters are squarish, very little distinction exists between *ta* and *na* and the vertical ends have no curves The characters are assignable to early 1st century A D

Text *Sidha Kōti Gahapati Kētilanākha nikāyasa karam*

"[This gift] at the Buddhist community was caused to be done by Kētilanākha, the householder from Kōṭi"

Sidha stands for the auspicious word *Siddham Karam* stands for *kāritam*, absolutive for *kritvā* Kōṭi stands for the place-name and the expression *nikāya*[28] might relate to the reliquary itself

No 7 [GT1-3/76]

The record is in five lines over the mid-region of the lime-stone pillar [Pl V] The writing commences just below the lotus medallion as in the case of no 8 [below] and the alphabet is alike closer to this example The engraver has omitted the vowel marks at various places and mistakes have crept in The letter forms *ta* and *ga* are identical

Text 1 *[Sē]tagiriba gahapati putasa Naṁda ga*

2 *yacha Chadhapavaka Saghasa Gagana*

3 *[Ga] jahusayā imam yacha dēnō jita-*

4 *patākānaṁ Mahānāgapavata Sēla [ma]-*

5 *[dha]vē thabhō dēyadhama Saghasa dāna[ṁ]*

The inscription registers donations at different places by one Nandayajña, son of a householder hailing from Sēṭagiri The first one is a gift of a decorative object described as "*Gagana-Gajahusaya*"[29], perhaps a *pata* sculptured with elephant's descent from heaven, to the Samgha at *Chandakaparvata* The other is a pious gift of a *Jita-patākā* (might stand also for *chitra-patākā*), a victorious flag or *dhvaja* to the pillar at the *Śaila-mandapa* on Mahānāgaparvata

No 8 (GT1-2/76)

This pillar record (Pl VI) is in 8 lines, the last line having only three letters at the extreme right The engraving is somewhat

deeper, characters are stumpy, head-marks vaguely indicated by thickened tops The vowel marks are not prominent in some cases *Ya* is peculiar, a shallow trough type, the medial line joined sidewards to the left vertical *ha* is horizontally laid, *gha* is almost like *ya* but for the central partition and *ga* is like *ta* The short form of verticals without the curls, together with the above palaeographical features suggest a date of early first century A D

Text

1 *Vēdhagiriyasa gahapatinō Bu-*
2 *dhinō putasa Ini Surakasa*
3 *gahapatinō Alahakasa A-*
4 *irayasa saputakasa Saja-*
5 *hutukasa cha dēyadhama Mahā-*
6 *nāga pavatē madavē thabhō chaka-*
7 *raja anumagadha tārija pata*
8 *Sagha dāna*

The record states about the two pious gifts made to the Buddhist Samgha at Mahānāgaparvata jointly by one Ini, son of Budhī, a householder hailing from Vēdagiri, and another householder Alahaka Śaurya (Sayiraya) hailing from distant Suraka along with his sons in-law The gifts are— 1) *mandapa* pillar (*madavē tabhō*) (2) a circular encasement slab (like a dome-slab) sculptured with the *dharma-chakra* in motion (*chakaraja anumagadha-tārija-pata*)

No 9 [GT1-2/74, B 9-*ARIE*, 1974-75]

A broken slab of lime stone, greyish brown, contained a single line inscription recording the gift[s] made by several persons It measures 1 48x 39 and 8 cms in thickness, the incomplete inscription occupies the mid-region The portion detailing the nature of each donation is damaged The characters resemble no 10 below though somewhat cursive A tendency to end the verticals incurved could be seen in the letters *a* and *ka*, etc The *anusvāra* and vowel marks are missing and even originally perhaps not properly followed

Text (Pl VII-9)

[pa]vata nivas[i]sa gharan[i]
Agahitanamda[di] kānam
Ayadhama Sēnanī atevāsa

"[Gift] by a houselady [*gharani*] named Agahitanamdī, resident of [Nāga]parvata, a person named Āryadharmā, a soldier resident - - etc [lost]

No 10 [GT1-1/76]

The pillar has two inscriptions of different dates one below the other The latter one is dealt with under no 12, while the former, the earlier in date, is in six lines [Pl VIII, 10] below the half lotus marking the terminal of the octagonal mid-region of pillar-shaft The characters of the epigraph belong to the Kushāna-Sātavāhana alphabet dated to mid-second century A D The writing displays an improvement—the letters are now squarish, the verticals and vowel marks in *a*, *ka*, *ra* end in fine curls, the form of letter *na* in line-5, *Mahānāgaparvata*, merits special attention as both the horizontal lines terminate at the left vertical This form of *na* seems to be a peculiarity of the region, as also other letters like *ba* and *la* in records nos 1 and 2 and differs from the usual script style of the century

Text

1 *Sidhaṁ gahapata(ti)nō Haṁghasa*
2 *bhariyāya Upāsikāya Budha(dhi)-*
3 *ya dēyadhama maṁ mi mahā-*
4 *sēla madhavējasa khambhā*
5 *Māhānāgapavata Ariya saṁ-*
6 *ghasa patithapitaṁ*

The inscription begins with the auspicious *iam* [*dha* twice written, the first one ·d and followed by punctuation mark], records the pious installation [*pratishthā-n*] of the pillar at the big stone hall *'āśailamandapa*] belonging to the [*Ārya gha*] on Mahānāgaparvata by a lay ple [*upāsika*], named Budhi, wife of eholder Hamgha

11 [GT1-3/74, B10 of *ARIE*, 1974-75]

The record is on a rectangular slab VII-II] measuring 54 x 50 cms and of is thick, broken at either ends The it letters read "*duhuta yā cha Saṁghi iṁ*]" [gift of the daughter Samghī- -] The letter *ta* and the last letter *da*, a sickle , were written upside down The ibets recall late Sātavāhana-Ikshvāku ve forms datable to 3rd century A D

'rtance of the records 3 to 10

The geographical names mentioned in bove records require detailed study and ification We come to know, for the time, that the ancient name of the hill- e containing Buddhist vestiges at Guntu- was Mahānāgaparvata (nos 3, 7-8, 10) of interest to note that a closeby depopu- village has the name Nāgulapallitōta[30] aps after this great Nāgaparvata Inci- ally, the identification of Guntupalli or Guddupalli by R Subrahmanyam with *Prithu-anda*, i e, Pitundra of Ptolemy is unfounded An Amarāvatī inscription of 1st-2nd century A D mentions one Ārya Āditya as a great supervisor of renovatioi works at Nāgaparvata[31] and quite reasonably the various donatory records noted above confirm such an activity at this place during the period

Other sacred Buddhist places that fin mention are Sētādri located at the north-eas corner of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[32] valley an also mentioned in the Nasik[33] record o' Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi

Vēdagiri or *Vētagiri* (no 8) might b Velagiri,[34] the monastery over a hillock at Jaggayyapeta, Krishna District Alternately this could be Vēdaśaila or Vēdaparvata,[35] *i e*, Pakshitīrtham in the Chengalpatti District of Tamil Nadu If this latte identification is correct, we could expect a Buddhist[36] base at this place too like in Kāñchīpuram, a closeby sacred place

Chandakaparvata (no 7) might be the hill named after the great charioteei Chandaka We find mention of a Śrēshth from Syandakaparvata[37] in a Nāgārjuna koṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehavula Chāntamula This hill name is also founo in another Nāgārjunakonda inscription[3] An inscription from Amarāvatī, of the same period, refers to the inhabitants of Chandaka- parvata and Chadaka respectively[39] The exact location of this hill is uncertain but in every likelihood it might be near Nāgār- junakoṇḍa-Amarāvatī in Guntur District

Suraka (no 8) might be a contractio for Śūrpāraka or Soparaka *i e*, Sopara i

the Thana[40] District, about 60 kms north of Bombay, a famous port town on the west coast during the Sātavāhana period The contact line between the Eastern and Wes-tern caves of Buddhist centres seems to b more favourably a cross-country route, along the great Krishnā-Gōdāvarī rivers, rather than marine

Mahānāvika (no 3) In the inscription no 3, a *mahānāvika*, *i e*, a master mariner (name portion lost), residing at Mahānāga-parvata finds mention That these mariners were Buddhists and occasionally made gifts to the *vihāras* is beyond doubt A Ghanta-sala (District Krishna) record of 2nd century A D [41] states the gift of an Āyaka pillar by the wife of a Mahānāvika Again we get the name of a master mariner Budhagupta, native of Raktamrittikā Mahāvihāra going to the Malay[42] Peninsula in 3rd-4th century A D Such evidences again confirm the brisk maritime activity on the East Coast linked with the expansion of Buddhism, during early centuries of the Christian era, towards the South-East Asian countries

The gifts include architectural and sculptural members and precious reliquaries Quite usual are the pillar donations for the *mandapa* (*Sēla-madavē-thabhō*, nos 7 to 10), steps (*Sōvānam*, no 2), pavement slabs (nos 3, 9, 11) to the monastic units etc Interesting of course are (1) a sculptured wheel slab to the *Samgha* (no 8 lines 6-7 *Chakaraja anumagadha - tārija-pata*) This is something like the *Sōthika pata* (*svastika* bearing circular medallion), or *dharma-chakra dhvaja*) as at Amarāvatī[43] (2) a circular decorative slab sculptured with elephant's descent (no 7 *Gagana-gaja-husaya imam*) to the *Saṁgha* at Chandaka parvata and (3) a victorious flag or *dhvaja* (no 7, line-4, *Jitapatākā*) to the pillar a the *Śailamandapa* The above terms occur for the first time, and not found mentione anywhere even at the prolifically rich site like Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakonda

The personal names for both males an females often seem to be identical, lik Samghi (no 11), Nandi (no 9), Kētilanākh (no 6), Hamgha, Budhī or Budhya (no 8 etc

From the above, it is clear that Mah nagaparvata regained its prestine positio as a Buddhist centre from early first centu A D, and renovation works went on briskl perhaps after a temporary spell of aggra dizement by the Jains Even some ne *vihāra* caves were established (3, 4B, 9 and 11 The later inscriptions listed hereund not only indicate Mahāyāna-Vajrayā affiliation of the establishment but procla the continuance of Mahānāgaparvata as great Buddhist centre in the ancient Vēn country right upto 11th century A D

III *Inscriptions of early 5th and 6th centuries A D*

No 12 *Pillar Record of the time Śālankāyana king Vijaya Nandivarm* (*II*), (Pl VIII) The full text of the reco is being edited separately by my learned c eagues K V Ramesh and S S Ramachand murthy of the Epigraphy Branch of t Archaeological Survey of India To co plete the sequence, however, I shall st here the main contents of the record tentatively read by me

This lengthy inscription, in 23 lines, was found engraved below the record no 10 above The characters of the epigraph are Brāhmī of the post-Ikshvāku period and the language is Sanskrit The writing is set in neat horizontal lines but the preservation of the record is far from satisfactory While the beginning of each line is clear, the endings are invariably missing due to the exfoliation of the pillar surface In the mid-region some letters are worn-out, presenting great difficulties in making out the text fully

This is the only known stone inscription issued by the Sālankāyana kings The palaeography of the record betrays the curly flourishes of the post-Ikshvāku script with box-head marks and is closer to the Kadamba grant of Mrigēśavarman, year-2 In the present record we can see definite advancement over the Ikshvāku script with the consonant signs getting externally looped and curving as in the endings like *sya*, *dya*, etc

A distinctive feature, however, lies in the script style which markedly differs from the well known copper plate grants of this very dynasty obtained from the Vēngī region This then clearly demonstrates as to how the writing style changes when the media and technique differ, albeit the scribe or engraver, his patron, place and period being identical The 'urban' and 'rural' strains in palaeographical studies as upheld by K V Ramesh[48] might not hold good in such circumstances Little difference exists in the letter forms *na* and *ta*, so also *śa* and *ga* (lines 1 and 2) In words like *Vēngī*, *Śālanku*, the usual *anunāsika* has taken the place of *anusvāra* Reduplicated consonants are generally used as in *chatur-vvidya*, *Varmma*, *dharmma*, etc

The record was issued by the Sālankāyana king Vijayanandivarman (II) (400-430 A D) from the victorious city of Vēngi He is the eldest son of Achandavarman known from the copper plate charters obtained from Kollair and Peddavegi He has the usual epithets (lines 8–9), here as *Chitrarathasvāmi-pādānudhyātah*, *Parama-Bhāgavatah*, *Bappa-bhattāraka-pādabhaktah*, etc The record gives us the pedigree from the time of Hastivarman (I), and four generations of rulers are cited Interestingly the family name is stated as *Śālanku(ka)kula* (line-1) instead of the common expression Śālankāyana as in the copper plates This dynastic name owes its origin perhaps to the *Sagotra rishi* *Śalanka* or *Śalanku* and, in the Dhārikaṭūra grant (lines 3-4), Achandavarman is described as belonging to Śālankāyana-sagōtra

Several covetous titles are mentioned for Hastivarman, the first ruler He is described (lines 1 to 3) as *Śālanku(ka)-kulāmalākāśa-Śaśānkah*, *Vishnugriha-chatur-vvidyā - śālādyanēka - vivatah*, *sadriśa - vana-visargah*, *Dharma-mahārājah*, etc , whereas the Kanukollu plates describe him as *anēka-samara - mukha - vikhyāta - karmā* and the Peddavēgi charter as *anēka - samarāvāpta-vijayin* Therefore, it appears that Hastivarman's alleged defeat[49] at the hands of Samudragupta may not be a fact but a mere boast of the latter

As regards their personal religion the first ruler of the dynasty, Vijayadēvavarma

was a *parama-māhēśvara* (Kanukollu plates), his son Hastivarma I, a *paramabhāgavata* and *Bhagavan - Nārāyana - charanāravinda* (Penugonda plates), while Achandavarman and his son Vijaya Nandivarman were *parama - bhāgavatas* and *Chitrarathasvāmi-pādabhaktah* The Sālankāyanas were undoubtedly followers of Vishṇu, more appropriately devoted to Sūryanārāyana, and the Peddavegi grant registers the gift of the village for the Trailōkyanātha Vishnu-grihasvāmī temple by Nandivarman (II) himself

The present record appears to register a major donation to the Buddhist establishment flourishing at the place Unfortunately the portion detailing this is illegible, but the description of a *Mahāvihāra* in lines 11, 15 and 16 is noticeable The date portion also could not be clearly read

It is held that the Sālankāyanas were instrumental for the spread of Buddhism to Burma-also southwards to Kāñchīpuram and elsewhere and the Peddavegi grant styles Nandivarman I as *vividha-dharma-pradhānasya* That Mahānāgaparvata was connected to Kāñchī-and its neighbourhood is established by the reference to Vēdaśaila in no 8 above as early as in 1st century A D The tribe of Salaenkanoi referred by Ptolemy[51] as rulers of the northern country of Maisola (now identified as Mahishaka, vide no 1) were also described by Pānini as a *gana* (republic) According to a Burmese tradition, the Sālankāyanas were responsible for the spread of Buddhism to that land and the present record substantiates their patronage to Buddhist *Samghas*

No 13 (GT1-6/74, B-13, *ARIE*, 1974-75)

This inscription, in four lines, was found on a brown slate squarish tablet (Pl IX B) with raised borders The characters are quite deep and boldly incised and display closeness to the Vishnukuṇdi and Sālankāyana copper plate grants The language is Prakrit mixed with Sanskrit The text reveals a Buddhist creed *i e*, exposition of four noble truths[53] (*chatvāri ārya satyāni*) These are *duhkha* (suffering), *samudāya* (the causes of suffering), *nirōdha* (the removal of the cause) and the *mārga* (the way leading to the removal of the cause) Clay tablets containing the Buddhist creed from Sankaram[54] (District Vizag) are of the same period, but the present example is a stone plaque with a formula not met with so far in any Buddhist site of this region

Text

1 *Dukha Dukhi samutpādaṁ*
2 *Dukhasya*[55] *va(ē)tikkramaṁ*
3 *Ariyañcha Ajāmgikam ma-*
4 *tim Dukhōpasama sāmikam*

No 14 (*GT 1-5/76*)

The inscription (Pl IX-14) in Nāgar characters assignable to circa 9 th-10 tl century A D was found engraved on th lotus flower base of a bronze image o Bōdhisattva Padmapāṇi The figure measure 23½ cms in height, the *Padma* base 4 cms in diameter and *Prabhāvali* 8 cms in width Gold inlay is seen over the *Kirīta* and th necklace decor A worshipper with folde hands is shown at the right lower edg of the *pītha*

The language of the record is Sanskri and the text reads clockwise over the lotu

ls revealing the usual Buddhist for-
a

Text

Yē dharmā hētu prabhavā hētum
tēshām tathagatō hyavadat
Tēshāñcha yō nirōdha ēvam vādī
Mahā Śramanah

The image is an object of personal hip and found associated with the later pational phase inside the newly exposed at the eastern slope of the terrace

The above epigraphical wealth is the t of a very limited clearance work there is little doubt in the fact that a planned extensive clearance of the jun-lad caves and open high mounds north-s would yield richer dividends The iptions edited above possess certain intrinsic merits They refurbish the value of palaeography for closer dating This is possible because they are considerable in number and are found associated with a compact monastic unit in all its structural phases, actively involved in the sectarian growth of the site Similar epigraphical wealth exists at the famous sites of Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇda and Sankaram, all in Andhra Pradesh but scant attention is paid for undertaking closer palaeographical studies

The place was finally usurped by the Śaivaites and the oldest circular *chaitya* cave was named as Dharmalingēśvara and a *nandi* was placed in its front The place is venerated as a great living *kshētra* by the locals and on Śivarātri days, particularly the female folk worship the *chaitya* as a bestower of fecundity

Notes

This picturesque hill range belongs to the village of Jilakarragudem (Kamavarapukota Taluk) which is 45 kms north of Ellore RS

R Sewell, "Buddhist Remains at Guntupalli", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, XIX (1887), pp 508-511 But A H Longhurst credits Rea with the first visit (See note 4 below)

Rea's account-See Government of Madras, G O no 646, 2nd August 1889, Cf *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, XV (Madras, 1894)

A H Longhurst, "The Buddhist Monuments at Guntupalli, Krishna District, *Annual Report, Archaeological Department, Southern Circle*, for the year 1916-17 (March, 1917), pp 30-35

Indian Archaeology - A Review, 1961-62, p 97, and 1968 69, p 64

R Subrahmanyam, "The Guntupalli Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravēla," *Andra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series*, no 3 (Hyderabad, 1968)

A few of these have been included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1974-75 as B 7 to B 13, corresponding to nos 1, 3, 7, 11, 4A, 6 and 13 Information kindly supplied by The Chief Epigraphist, *vide* D O letter no 38 3 (7) 78 25 dt 4-1-78

D Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri* (New Delhi, 1960), Pl IX

9 Inscribed pillar records recording an identical gift of *mandapa* complex are found with the *Mahāviha* complex at Nagarjunakonda See H Sarkar in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, p 176 Also at the fame Sirvadi temple six or seven copies of the same text of the time of Ehavala Śrī were found on differe pillars *Epigraphia Indica* XXXII pp 147 149 It appears that they were meant for variously locat *mandapas* in the same place

10 R Subrahmanyam, *Op cit*, (1968), p 2

11 D C Sircar ' An alleged inscription of Kharavela " (Calcutta, 1969 70), *Journal of Ancient Ind History* III pp 30-36

12 *Epigraphia Indica* XXXII pp 82 86 Prof Sircar further states that the ruler was born of Sātavāh princess hence the name Sāta, *JAIH* , III, pp 34, 275

13 It may be noted that *Mandapa* has several meanings D C Sircar, *Epigraphical Glossary* (New Del 1966) pp 195 96 But in Guntupalli records it appears to denote a pillared hall on stone columns i monastic unit for the assemblage of the monks

14 *India* 9 no 2 (Bombay, Sept 1972), pp , 83-88 *JBORS* , XIII, p 221

15 *E I*, XIII, pp 159 67 XX pp 71 89, D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I (Calcutta, 1965), 214 222

16 We have no evidence numismatic, epigraphical or whatsoever to agree with P Subrahmanyam (*Op* pp 4 6) that the early Sātavāhana rulers of the time prior to Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi held coa Āndhra, although the contiguous Vidarbha and Telangana regions were within the heart of the em right from the beginning and Sātavāhanas were undoubtedly Āndhras Cf I K Sarma, "Fresh l on the History of the Sātavāhanas", *Itihas*, III, pp 2 and 4 notes 5 and 13 Also his equation of M Kanagara with Kondapuram in Medak District is not sound as there is no river nearby and no evid is forthcoming to substantiate Khāravēla's expedition into this remote area

17 *Indian Antiquary* LV, p 145

18 J Dubrieul, *Ancient History of Deccan* pp 84 87

19 *INSI* XI, pt 1, p 4 *EI* XXXVIII p 45, *JNSI* , XXXII, (1970), pp 65-76 For the l view S Sankaranarayanan, in *JNSI* XXXIV (1972), p 39

20 P Gupta, *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions* (1973), pp 83, 95 D C Sircar, *Geograpl Ancient and Medieval India* (New Delhi, 1971), pp 245 47 Generally Mahishamaṇḍala is locate south Mysore See for various locations of Mahishaka country, N L Dey, *Geograp Dictionary*, p 20

21 R Subrahmanyam, *Op cit* , p 5

22 A H Longhurst, *ARADSC* , 1916 17 (Madras-1951) p 35

23 *Government of Madras G O no 1035, Home (Education), 10th August 1917, Epigraphy* p 5

24 *Sthavira* is an elder among the Buddhist monks and belongs to *Sthaviravāda* school

25 R Subrahmanyam, *Op cit* , p 6 and H D Sankalia, *Aspects of Indian History and Archae* (New Delhi, 1977), pp 138-39 It may also be noted that no inscription was reported by A from Guntupalli

26 I am thankful to Shri Indukuru Suryanarayana Raju, native of Jilakarragudem for taking me to site

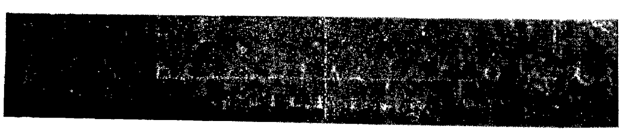
27 In all such cases, the first is the field number and the next the number assigned by the Epigraphy Br Mysore in their *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*



MIDDLE TERRACE, VIEW OF THE STRUCTURAL *STŪPAS*

EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT GUNTUPALLI-PLATE II





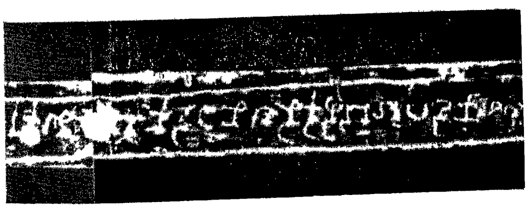
1 Inscription of Siri Sāda

2 Donatory record on a stone step



EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT GUNTUPALLI-PLATE III



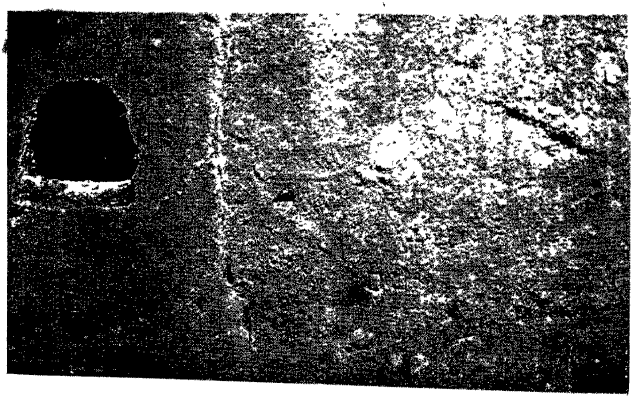


3 Inscripton on a Floor slab

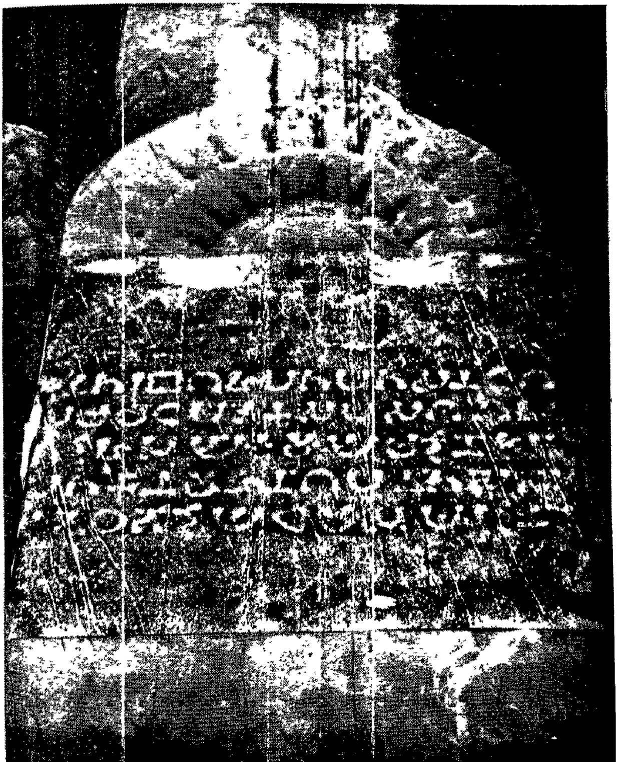
4 Inscription on another Floor slab

5 Inscription on a stone reliquary





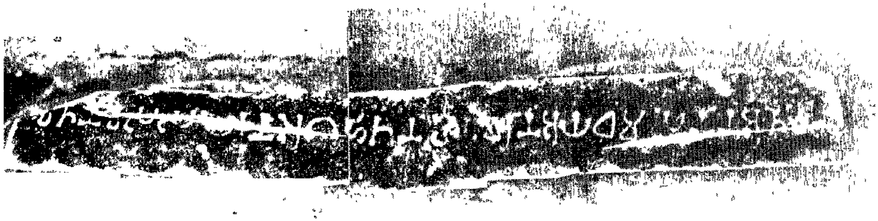
A General view of the cave
B Close view of the inscribed wall face,



7 Inscribed *Mandapa* pillar

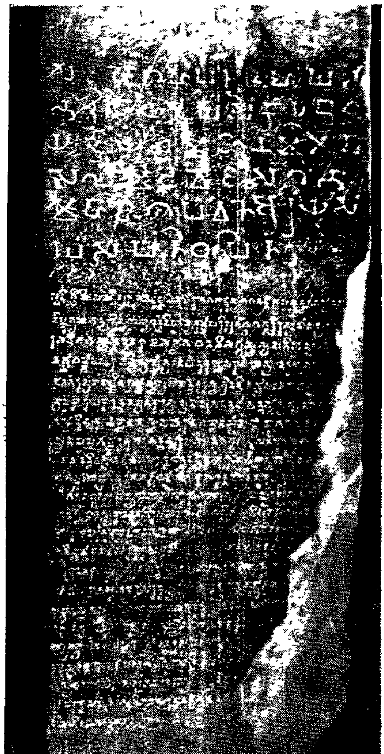


8 Another inscribed *Mandapa* pillar

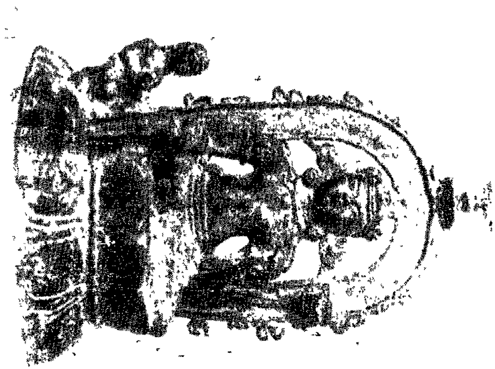




9 and 11 Inscribed Floor slabs



10 and 12 Inscribed pillar



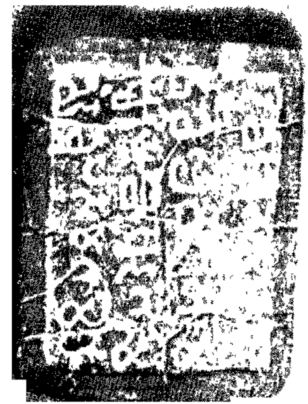


PLATE IX

28 *Epigraphical Glossary* (1966) p 217 The word is specially used to signify the collection of Buddhist *Suttas*, the five sections of *Suttanta piṭaka*, viz, *Digha*, *Majjhima Sanyutta*, *Anguttara* and *Khudaka*

29 The meaning of *husaya* is not clear The slab may have the usual depiction of the scene of Śvētakētu s descent from Tushita heaven and entering Māyādēvi's womb, as at Bharhuth Amarāvatī etc

30 This is ½ km south-west of Guntupalli hill and the ancient mound of this place goes with the name Nāgadēvulapāḍu There is a hooded *nāga* slab of Khondolite which is still in worship in a recently built cell on the road side

31 C Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Government Museum* (Madras, 1956), p 278

32 *E I*, XXXIV, p 203, Inscription no 4 Also see *Indica* no 7 (March 1971) pp 6 14 15

33 D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* I (1965), p 197

34 D Mitra, *Op cit* (1972), p 311

35 D C Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (New Delhi 1971), p 336

36 The place is also known as *Tirukkaukkḷunṛam* Tiru i e, *śri*, *kaḷu* = *Gṛidhra* or vulture, *kunṛam* = hill Perhaps after the famous *Gṛiddhakūta śaila* Rājagriha I am grateful to Sri K R Srinivasan for this reference

37 *EI*, XXXV, pp 11-13

38 *EI*, XX p 22

39 Lüders List, no 1220, Also C Sivaramamurti (1953), p 294

40 P Gupta, *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions* (New Delhi 1973), pp 109-110

41 *EI*, XXVII, (1947-48), p 4

42 D Mitra, *Op cit*, p 236

43 *EI*, XXIV, pp 258 76 pt lines 8-9

44 *Ibid*, XXXV p 152, Pt

45 Penugonda plates ot Hastivarman, *EI*, XXXV, pp 148-49, Konukollu plates, *Ibid*, XXXI, p 8 Dharikaṭūra grant of Achaṇḍavarman, *Ibid*, XXXVI, pp 4 5 ft However, the variation is not much in Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II himself *JAHRS*, I, pt II, p 92, but not the Kollair grant, *Indian Antiquary*, V, p 175

46 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, III (Mysore, 1976), pp 156 159

47 The name of the monarch here is clearly *Rājachandavarmanah*

48 Śālankāyana is the name of *ṛishi* In the Pravarakāṇḍa, Śālankāyanas have two sets of *gōtra ṛishis*, all *Traiyārshēya* [1] Bharadvāja, Āngirasa Bārhaspatya, [2] Viśvāmittia, Śālaṅkā (yana), Kauśika, etc Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyi* gives (*sūtra* IV-1-99) the group of words beginning with *nāda* all of them taking the *pratyaya* '*Ayana*' (*Nādāyana* etc) I am thankful to Dr Parabrahma Sastry for this kind information The family name *Śivalēnka* is nothing but a colloquialism of Śālanka and *ṛishis* of the two *gōtras* are the same

49 *E I*, XXXI, pp I-11

50 B V Krishna Rao, *A History of the Early Dynasty of Andhra-desa* (Madras, 1942), pp 380-81

51 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 13th Section* (Madras, 1930), pp 64-65 and *Journal of Oriental Research* II (Madras), pp 111-112

52 *E I*, XXX, p 101, Pl II

53 Terracotta or stone tablets inscribed with *Dharanis*, *pratitya- samutpāda sutra* and Buddhist creed were found at Ratnagiri D Mitra (1972), pp 222-228

54 A Rea, "A Buddhist Monastery on the Sankaram Hills" *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907 08 (Calcutta, 1911), pp 149-80

55 Dukha-Skandha is also found explained in the Nalanda text of *Pratitya- samutpada sūtra EI*, XXI, pp 20-22, no 7

8. SOME EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF THE SANGAM EPOCH

K V Raman

The ancient sources for the existence of the Tamil Sangam have been points of interesting discussions among scholars for quite sometime The tradition of the Tamil Academy had been persistent in the Tamil literary heritage The tradition is crystallised in the well-known Tamil work, *Iraiyanār Agapporul* dated 9th or 10th century A D But we do get some echoes of this tradition even in the earlier works though they are brief and incidental in nature For example Āndāḷ's reference to *Śangattamilmālai* in her *Tiruppāvai* and a similar reference in the *Dēvāram* can be cited as two examples Such references indirectly inform us about the glory of the Tamil language of the Sangam period and present it to us as the supreme touch-stone of the greatness of the language

In this paper, some epigraphical references concerning the Sangam tradition are briefly presented The direct reference to the Pāṇḍyan king, Neduñjeḻiyan in the short Brāhmī inscription at Māṅguḷam near Madurai and the table of genealogy of the Chēra kings given in the famous Pugaḻūr inscription which tally well with the account given by the Sangam poem, *Padiṟṟuppattu*, constitute important evidence These serve to corroborate the evidences found in the Sangam anthologies However, they are not the direct evidence to the Sangam tradition, as such But there are quite a few references to the Sangam tradition which may briefly be alluded to here The larger Sinnamanur copper plates issued by the Pāndya king Rājasimha II in the beginning of the 10th century A D pays an eloquent tribute to the Pāndya king who founded the city of Madurai and promoted the Sanskrit and Tamil languages, caused *Mahābhārata* to be translated into Tamil and promoted Tamil learning by instituting or patronising a Tamil Academy (Sangam)

> Valamadurai nagaikandu maṟṟadarku madil vaguttu
> uḷamikka madiyadanā lendamiḻum vadamoḻiyum
> paludaraattā nāraindu
> mahābhāratam tamiḻpaduttum Madurā-puri sangam vaittum

In another context the Pāṇḍya king is praised as the master of Tamil language (*Tēn-Tamiḻin karaikandum*) and calls another Pāndya king as one who studied Tami along with Agastya, traditions which echo similar sentiments expressed in the Sangam literature

There was a lively discussion and difference of opinion with regard to the origin of the word, *kūdal*, which was the alternative name for Madurai in ancient times All sorts of speculations were made taking *Kūdal* as indicating the confluence of rivers , writers searched for the non-existant rivers and could not find more than one river there namely Vaigai But the speculation

set at rest by an interesting reference that find in the Sivakasi copper plates[1] which m to give a correct explanation of the rd, Kūdal for Madurai It calls Madurai *Tamilkūdal*, which can be translated as idurai, the confluence of Tamil scholars the seat of the Tamil Sangam The 'akasi plates are also datable to the 10th or h century A D It has clearly recorded tradition that Madurai was also called *milkūdal* or the seat of the Tamil Academy

Another interesting epigraphical echo of Sangam poem is found in the Dalavāy-ram copper plates issued by Parāntaka ra-Nārāyana (860–905 A D) The opening ises of these copper plates are culled out om the famous Sangam poem, *Madurai-ncln* beginning with the words *Ōngutirai van parappil*, etc

Another pointed and interesting epigra-ical allusion to the Sangam at Madurai is und in an inscription from Ramnad District the Pāṇḍyanādu It mentions among other things that the Pāndya king Śadaiyan Māran *alias* Śrīvallabha honoured one Etti-Śāttan for the many beneficial acts that he did and conferred the title Iruppaikudi-kiḻavan on him This man is called as a chieftain of Kūḍalkudi, Iruppaikudi, etc , and described as one who came of the family of poets who had the distinction of being seated on the stone slab at *Kūdal* or Madurai famous for its Tamil[2] This inscription clearly shows that the people of the period were well aware of the importance of the Tamil Sangam in the bygone days and the descendants of the Sangam poets were continued to be honoured and held in esteem by the Pāndya kings

The above cited instances would go to show that the memory of the Tamil Academy at Madurai continued to be fertile in the minds of the later people and the echoes of them are found both in literature and in inscriptions Many more such instances can be collected and arranged chronologically which would add significance to the subject

OOT-NOTES

Pāṇḍiyar Śeppēdugal Pattu

SII, XIV—No 44

I

The Aśvī grant of Yādava Āirammadēva, edited by Dr G S Gai in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol XXXVI, pp 249 ff (with facsimiles), informs us that the king was then encamped at a place known as Narmadāpura This place is mentioned also in the Bhopal grant of the Paramāra Mahākumāra Udayavarman, dated Vikrama 1256 or 1200 A D,[1] and while editing this inscription, I have proposed to identify it with the modern town of Nēmāwai in the Dewas District of Madhya Pradesh Lying on the Northern bank of the Narmadā, it is an ancient place, possessing, besides some other antiquities, an old temple of Śiva, containing two pilgrims' records dated Vikrama 1253 and 1281,[2] the first of which was engraved three years earlier than Udayavarman's grant It may also be noted here that the name Narmadāpura can be philologically connected with Nēmāwai, through the intermediate stage of *Nemma-ā-ura*

Āirammadēva is known to have been a zealous feudatory of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076–1126 A D), and, as is well known, his territory was roughly bounded on the north by the Narmadā But, since Nēmāwar, where the king was encamped while issuing the grant, is on the north bank of the river, the conclusion is irresistible that he had then conquered some region on its north, around Nēmāwar, snatching it, apparently, from the Paramāras who were to his immediate north This incident appears to have taken place during the reign of Paramāra Udayāditya whose earliest inscription is dated 1080 A D and who was constantly busy with his enemies in the other directions

We also know that the credit of establishing Vikramāditya in sovereignty is given to Sēunachandra II, and it is probable that his son Āirammadēva may have fought the battle as a prince

Here we may notice another grant of Āirammadēva, which I studied from photographs of the inscription incised on three plates, which I owe to Dr S K Bhatt, a friend of mine at Indore This grant was not so far noticed The relevant portion of it reads *Sam(saṁ)vat nav-ādhika-sahasre tv-ankatō'pi 1009 Prabhava-samvatsar-āntar-gata Śrāvana-krishna-pañchadaśyām Ravau Sūrya-grahana-parvvani prithvīvallabhē Bhuvanaikamalla-vijaya-rājyē Sēunadēśē Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-Śrī-Āirammadēva - vijaya-rājyē śrī-Aiapakumārēna śrī-Dhavabhadrasya Pimparī-grāmah pradattah* (lines 29–35)

(From my own Transcript)

The year of the grant is Śaka 1009 (1087 A D), which is eleven years earlier than that of the Aśvī grant, showing that the Yādava king occupied the throne rather earlier by so many years This we know for the first time from this inscription

In this grant too, the name of the king is spelt as Āirammadēva, which supports what

r Gar has observed, viz, that this was the ame of the king, and not Airamma or 'aramma, as is given by Hēmādri But we ave also to take into account that the name the Aśvī grant may have been copied from his grant which gives the spelling of the ame, merely because of the fancy of the riter, as it also appears in his spelling of he name of the donor as Ārapakumāra, just fter

To enable us to throw more light on the 'ādava-Paramāra struggle in the last quarter f the eleventh century A D, we may notice ere another charter, which has recently een known but is still unpublished This ecord consists of three copper plates which re reported to have been found in a field at Rajpur in the Khargone District of Madhya Pradesh and were acquired in the district easury as a treasure trove and subsequently hey were sent to the Indore Museum I studied the inscription through the kind courtesy of the Curator of the Museum, Shri R S Garg

The grant mentioned in the plates was made by *Mahāmandaleśvara* Ranadhavala, a subordinate of the Paramāra king Naravarman, and after some years the same grant was confirmed by the same feudatory himself The relevant portion, after describing Naravarman with all the epithets of a paramount sovereign, runs as follows –

tat–pāda–padma–prasād–āvāpta–pūrnna-pathakaysa chatvārimśa–sahasr–ādhipatyam samasta–praśastōpēta–pañcha–mahāśabdālam-kāra – virājamāna – Mahāmandalēśvara – śrī – Ranadhavaladēvah (lines 8–10)

(From my own transcript)

The grant was originally issued on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Pausha, Vikrama 1148, which is equivalent to 25th December, 1092 A D, and it was renewed on the ninth day of the bright half of Chaitra, Vikrama 1177, which regularly corresponds to 10th March, 1120 A D

Thus, the Rajpur grant, as we may call it after the findspot of the plates, was held in abeyance for complete twentynine years It is possible that the grant by a subordinate ruler, Ranadhavala, would not be valid unless it is confirmed by his feudal lord, but the interval of not less than about thirty years between the two dates seems to be a long one, and the only conclusion that can be drawn on the point is that the territory in which the grant village lay was subsequently occupied by some of the enemies, who could have been, in the present case, either the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya, probably helped by some of his feudatories, or Chaulukya Jayasimha, who too was endeavouring his best to extend his territories towards the east

It is worth noting here that Rajpur, along with the other places mentioned in the inscription, is situated to the south of the Narmadā, and a study of the inscription shows that the Narmadā region, in as much as it lay in the southern part of Madhya Pradesh, constantly changed hands between the two royal houses

It is also significant to note here that Ranadhavala issued this donation from his camp at the holy place known as Amarēśvara, which is to the south of the Narmadā and not far from Rajpur where the plates were obtained The place contains a Jyōtirlinga, and is also mentioned in some of the Paramāra inscriptions [3]

Here we may also note some other important points from this (Rajpur) grant It is dated Vikrama 1148, equivalent to 1092 A D It gives the epithets of a paramount sovereign to Naravarman in this year On the other hand, the Dewas grant of the king tells us that he performed his father Uday-āditya s first anniversary *(sāmvatsarika)* on a date which is equivalent to 24th August 1094 A D , and, on the basis of this and some other evidences, Naravarman is known to have ascended the throne in 1093–94 A D To reconcile both these conflicting evidences, we may suggest that his father Udayāditya may have abdicated at least as early as in 1092 A D , and not in 1093–94 A D as hither to believed [4]

Who may have defeated and repelled the Paramāras from the Rajpur region is also a problem to solve in this connection It is fair to assume that he may have been Āchugi II, the Sinda chief of Yelburga, who is known to have fought several battles of his master and who is mentioned in an inscrip-tion as making the king of Mālava, among some others, subject to his sovereign Vikram-āditya [5]

II

Two copper- plate inscriptions of the Chandēlla rulers of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh have come to light within the past few years, and their contents have been briefly noticed in the *Anual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* But they are still unedited, and here we propose to show their historical significance The first of these, which is engraved on a single plate, is now exhibited in a local Museum at Kuṇḍēśvara, near Ṭīkamgaḍh, the headquarters of a district of that name in Madhya Pradesh It records a grant issued by the Chandēlla king Vidyā-dhara, on the *amāvāsyā* day of Śrāvana, on a solar eclipse, in [V] S 1060, which is equivalent to 20th July, 1004 A D [6]

Noticing the historical importance of the inscription, we find that since the latest known year of Vidyādhara's grandfather, Dhanga, is 998 A D when he issued the Nānyaura grant, and also since, on the evi-dence of the present grant we have to take Vidyādhara on the Chandēlla throne in 1004 A D we can conclude only that the latter's father Ganda either did not come to the throne, or, he may have occupied it only for a short period [7]

Another important point that we note from the study of this inscription is that it solves finally the long-ranging controversy with reference to the name of the enemy of Pratīhāra Rājyapāla, who is mentioned as Bidā by Ibn-ul-Asir,[8] but as Nandā, by Nizamuddin,[9] Firishta[10], and Gardizi[11] Considering these different readings, Cunn-ingham held that Nandā of the writers is a misreading for Ganda,[12] and this view was accepted by Hultzsch,[13] Smith,[14] Ray,[15] Tripathy,[16] and some others But the present inscription, which shows that Dhanga was succeeded by Vidyādhara, also suggests that both these names, namely, Nandā and Bidā, should be taken as denoting only Vidyādhara, Bidā being a short and corrupt form of *Vidyā*

The other inscription, which we may notice here in brief, refers itself to the reign of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman, who, from his capital Ajayagaḍh (Jayapura-durga), donated the village Chachāhi, on the

'enth day of the bright half of Chaitia, lnesday, in V S 1283, which regularly esponds to 11th March, 1226 A D This iiption also is on a single plate, and at ent is exhibited in the Rāmvan Museum Satnā, in Madhya Pradesh

The latest known year of Trailōkya-nan is V S 1269 or 1212 A D, supplied the fragmentary stone inscription from /agadh, and thus the present inscription ws that this ruler continued to be on the ne at least for fourteen years thereafter

III

The Dhureti (Rewa) copper-plate inscrip- which gives the name of Trailōkyamalla, edited by N P Chakravarti, with a)graph, in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, pp , and subsequently it was also edited by V V Mirashi, in *CII*, Vol IV, pp 369 Both these scholars identified Trailōkya-la, mentioned therein, with Chandēlla ılōkyavarman, but this view has now to dismissed in view of a copper-plate inscription which has recently been found and is now deposited in the Museum at Mandlā in Madhya Pradesh The epigraph records the donation made by the Kalachuri king Vijayasimha, son and successor of Gayā-karna, in the Kalachuri year 949, which is equivalent to 1198 A D on the occasion of a birthday ceremony (*jāta-karma*) of the prince (*Mahākumāra*) Trailōkyamalla

This indeed is a new information, showing that the latter was a son of the former And since Vijayasimha's last known year is 96x, he appears to have been succeeded by Trailōkyamalla, in whose reign this record seems to have been incised, in the Kalachuri year 963 [17] This view is also consistent with the mention in it of the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva, who was a spiritual preceptor of the Kalachuri royal house Thus we need not assume that after the end of the Kalachuri rule in the Rewa territory, the spiritual Teacher, along with some officers also, may have transferred his faithfulness to the rising power of the Chandēllas [18]

ı-NOTES

1 *IA*, XVI, pp 252 ff It is my No 46

2 See *Prog Rep*, *W C*, for 1920-21, pp 22 and 55 D R Bhandakar's *List of Inscrs*, No 479

3 For example, the Māndhātā grant of Jayasimha, (V) Year 1112, *EI*, III, pp 48 ff It is our No 18

4 Ranadhavala, known for the first time from this record, may obviously be identified with Rindhuwul, mentioned in the *Rāsamālā* (trans- by Forbes), Vol I, p 117

5 See R G Bhandarkar's *History of the Deccan*, p 151

6 *A R on Epigraphy*, No A7 of 1971-72

7 This point has been briefly mentioned in the Report

8 *Al-Tarikhul*, Bulak, Vol IX, pp 115 ff

9 *Tabaāt-i-Akbarī*, tr by B De, Vol I, p 12

10 *Tārikh-i-Firishtā*, Vol I pp 63 ff

11 *Kitāb Zainul Akhbār*, by al-Gardizi, p 76

12 *Arch Surv of Ind Report* Vol II p 452

13 *EI* I, p 219

14 *IA*, XXXVII p 128

15 *Dy Hist Of N India* I, p 606

16 *History of Kanauj*, p 285, n 5

17 The information of the find and also the conclusion I owe to Shri B C Jain, Dy Director of Arch M P

18 For details see *CII* IV, pp 370 f

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT THE TAMIL COUNTRY RE-APPRAISAL OF EPIGRAPHIC IDENCE

R Champakalakshmi

In the religious history of the Tamil intry, the seventh century A D has been ierally taken to be a period of serious con-t between the Brahmanical sects of Vaish-/ism and Śaivism, on the one hand, and Buddhist and Jain sects on the other, the mer gaining the upper hand through the cess of the Bhakti movement headed by Vaishnava Āḻvārs and Śaiva Nāyaṉāis, o won royal support and patronage This w is based on traditional accounts in ha-ıological literature and on certain synchro-ms and identifications suggested in them as ll as in the *Tēvāram* and *Divyaprabandham* mns of the *bhakti* exponents Corrobora-y evidence is sought from a few epigraphic ;oids, one of them being the controversial ›cription in the Tiruchirapalli cave temple ›ignable to the period of Mahēndravarman the Pallava

The above view, which has so far provi-d an acceptable backgiound for writing the story of this iegion, has been seriously iestioned by a recent study on the date of ie *Tēvāram* trio, based on a very systematic udy of the insciiptions and distribution attern of the early Chōḷa temples [1] This ıudy has, however, set aside, quite unjustifi-bly, all the liteiary references to certain per-onalities and their contemporaneity to the ıuthors as entirely unreliable due to their "legendary" or "mythical" character While it is true that the aim of this study is ostensi-bly to provide a moie dependable chronology for events of gıeat significance connected with the socio-religious changes brought about by this conflict, it is doubtful whether it has tackled the problem in its entiiety or from the point of view of the "opposition", the opposition in this case being represented by the Jains

The present paper, it must be stated at the outset, does not aim at questioning the validity of the use of epigraphic evidence as more reliable than literary evidence, but seeks other approaches to the study of the same theme, rather an allied theme, which, while upholding the general trustworthiness and authenticity of epigıaphic data, would also show the limitations of its use, especially when one is dealing with complex phenome-na determining the couise of events or chan-ges For understanding the origin and na-ture of this conflict, all the factors involved in it have to be closely examined To take up only the Śaiva aspects of the pictuie would, therefore, mean an inadequate or partial approach to the problem Hence, the endeavour, here, is to look at the other side of the coin *i e*, to look at the question from the evidence provided by the Jain inscriptions and to the extent necessary touch upon the

Vaishnava records, both epigraphic and literary In addition, archaeological and architectural evidence is also drawn upon, wherever possible It is hoped that in the process, the criteria which determine the correct use of epigraphic and other data would emerge

Jain inscriptions appear in the Tamil country as early as the second century B C in the form of short Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions giving the names of ascetics who occupied natural caverns on hills and lay followers who provided the material basis for their support [2] Even the most conservative dating of these records cannot bring any of them down to a period later than the 4th-5th centuries A D Though not very large in number, these inscriptions are fairly widely distributed in the whole of Tamilnadu so as to suggest a period of atleast two centuries for the spread of this religion in the early Christian era [3] Suddenly, for reasons not clear, there appears a long interval of time before the re-appearance of inscriptions referring to the Jain sect The pattern of reappearance, again, is not the same all over, for, in a number of places, particularly in the Madurai region, there is a sudden proliferation of Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions assignable to the 8th-9th centuries A D whereas, in certain other areas, as in Śittannavāśal, Śingavaram and Tiruchirappalli, there are some stray inscriptions in Grantha and 'archaic' characters recording some more names, assignable to the 6th-7th centuries A D If the dating of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions is reasonably certain, one is inclined to ask the question 'what happened in this interval of silence from inscriptions or what caused this gap in inscriptions ? It may be suggested that some of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions are earlier in date, which can be checked by working out a dependable palaeographical table for the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions with the help of dated ones, also available in the same region

A more curious but interesting phenomenon is observed in the Jain inscriptions coming from the regions occupied by the Chōḷas of the Vijayālaya line They are datable in the ninth-tenth centuries A D and belong to the reigns of the same early Chōḷa rulers, Āditya I and Parāntaka I, to whose period the new theory assigns the *Tēvāram* trio These two rulers are found to be invariably patronising or at least viewing with favour the endowments made to a considerable number of Jain temples and monasteries

In the North Arcot district alone, four important Jain centres[5] received patronage in the time of Rājakēsari Āditya I and Parakēsari Parāntaka I (871 955 A D) Other centres in the same district were in existence from Pallava times, the earliest records being those of Nandivarman II (730 795 A D) [6] Three important Jain centres in the South Arcot district are known only through the inscriptions of the period of Āditya I and Parāntaka I [7] A fourth one in the same district may be assigned to the same period on palaeographic grounds [8]

Tirunarungoṇḍai in South Arcot Dt was already an important centre of Jain worship from the ninth century A D [9] and Chōla inscriptions in the Appāṇḍa Jain temple date from the period of Rājarāja I [10] Similarly the Perumandur Jain temple in the same district has ninth century inscriptions[11]

Chōḷa patronage was extended to it only he 12th-13th centuries A D [12]

Ānandamangalam in the Chingleput rict flourished as an important Jain tre in the time of Parāntaka I [13]

In the heart of the Chōḷa country ināgēśvaram in the Tanjavur district ns to have had a Jain temple called Miládudaiyārpaḷḷi, to which a pillared indah (*tiruchchurrālai*) and gateway *pura*) were added in the time of Āditya Under Parāntaka, Śendalai was associa- with the Jains [15]

In Poṉviḷaindānpaṭṭi near Śendalai and ramam, the wife of Kuvavan, a Mutta- ya chieftain and contemporary of Nandi- man II, made grants to a Jain *paḷḷi*, which there is no trace now [16]

The new date assigned to the *Tēvāram* would suggest that these *nāyanārs* toured same regions in the tenth century ging the praise of Śiva in those temples lieved to have been erected under Āditya and Parāntaka I It would also mean that religious conflict was acute in the nth ceutury and probably resulted in the cline of the Jain faith On the other nd, the Jain inscriptions would seem to ovide evidence to the contrary, particu rly in the Chōḷa occupied regions It is recisely in this period that many nties appear to have come up or were atronised Some of them continued to ourish under the successors of these early Chōḷas, such as Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I nd even later

A regionwise survey of the Jain inscrip- ions in other parts of Tamil Nadu also reveals a similar picture The hill at Tiruchirapalli contains a natural cavern in a rather inaccessible spot, apart from two rock-cut caves at more convenient spots The cavern has a series of short inscriptions, one in Brāhmī reading *Chira*, and others in a script similar to the Pallava-Grantha and archaic Tamil, giving various names and titles,[17] two of which have been connected with Pallava Mahēndravarman I [18] In one of the Śaiva cave temples is found the well-known but controversial Sanskrit inscription believed to be of the same king and referring to his supposed conversion from Jainism to Śaivism [19] If this hill was one of those occupied by the Jains early, as the word *Chira* is said to represent a Jain name and *Chirāpaḷḷi*, the name of the place, is said to be derived from it,[20] then the seventh century cave temple would indicate its appropriation by Śaivas or change over to Śaivism

Śivaram in the same district seems to have been a Jain centre around 8th-9th centuries or earlier as seen from the archaic inscriptions and Jain sculptures on the Sundakkāpārai, a huge boulder, which also contains several rock-cut beds [21]

In the Pudukkottai region, the hilly area of Ammāchatram provided the background for a big Jain monastery and temple at Tiruppaḷḷimalai or Tirumāṉamalai, which received endowments in the reign of Rāja-kēsari, identifiable with Āditya I [22] The inscriptions referring to these grants are in very early characters assignable to the 9th century A D It continued to flourish in the period of Rājarāja I[23] and later and began to decline due to a dispute between two sections of the monastic establishment under the later Pāṇḍavas [24] The Aiññūṟruvapperumpaḷḷi at Tiruvennayil, which owed its construction

to the merchant corporation "the Five Hundred", dating from about the 9th century, was evidently liberally endowed under Rājarāja I [25] Now in ruins, the remains of this temple show close similarities with the early Chōḷa temple at Koḍumbāḷūr Tēṉmalai or Tēnūrmalai has a cavern and Jain sculptures and early inscriptions, one of which records that, on seeing Malayadhvajan, a Jaina teacher performing penance, an Irukkuvēl chieftain instituted a *paḷḷichchandam* [26] Tēnūr seems to be mentioned in a Brāhmī record from Māmandūr [27]

The evidence from other parts of the Pāndya country is equally significant The Kuranḍi Tirukkattāmpaḷḷi, perhaps the biggest Jain monastery in Tamil Nadu, enjoyed patronage under Mārañjaḍaiyan, probably Varaguna I (768-815), as seen in the three inscriptions[28] on stones now found built into the Kālanāthasvāmi Śiva temple in Paḷḷimaḍam, a hamlet of Tiruchchuḻiyal in the Ramanathapuram district A succession of Jain teachers of this monastery is known through several records in the hills surrounding Madurai[29] and in Kaḷugumalai[30] and Chitral,[31] indicating that it was perhaps the centre of a well-knit organisation in the 8th and 9th centuries A D It was visited by teachers from Śravana Beḷgoḷa as late as the twelfth century A D [32] It was known as the 'monastery of the southern circle' [33]

Ajjanandi, a great Jain teacher of the 8th-9th centuries A D, was himself revered by the Kuraṇḍi teachers as shown by an inscription recording the setting up of his image at Kongar Puḷiyanguḷam [34] He is known to have visited several Jain centres in the Tamil country from Vallimalai in the North Arcot district to Chitral in former Travancore including all important centres in the Madurai and Tirunelveli districts [35] The hills around Madurai contain numerous caverns with beds and Brāhmi inscriptions assigned to the period between the 2nd century B C and 3rd century A D All of them are invariably found to contain also a series of Jain sculptures and a large number of Vatteluttu inscriptions of the 8th - 9th centuries A D While most of them record names of Jain monks including Ajjaṉandi, some also refer to endowments in the period of the early Pāndyas In Tirupparankuṉram, Pāndya Mārañjadaiyan (Varaguna I) is referred to in an inscription of c A D 784[36] and an officer of the Pāndya king Vaḷudi Mīṉavan, figures as the donor in another record from Karungalakkuḍi [37] Other centres with similar Jain vestiges are Āṉamalai, Aḻagarmalai, Śamaṇarmalai (Kongar Puḷiyanguḷam, Kīḻakkuyilkuḍi, Muttuppaṭṭi and Kīḻavaḷavu), Kuppalanattam, Uttamapāḷaiyam and Aiyampāḷaiyam (Aivarmalai)

Dēvattūr in the Palani taluk contained an early Jain *paḷḷi*, to which a chieftain with the title Pallavaraiyan made grants [38]

In the Tirunelveli district, Brāhmī inscriptions occur in Vīraśikhāmani, Varichchiyūr and Kuṉṉakkudi Later Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, however, are found in places like Kaḷugumalai and Ēruvādi The Pāṇḍya king Mārañjadaiyan (Varaguna I) figures as the patron in an inscription on a boulder at Ēruvādi[39], where a second inscription mentions Ajjanandi as the teacher who caused the Jain image to be carved [40] The Mārañjaḍaiyan whose gifts to the Jain *paḷḷi* in Kalugumalai are recorded in two inscriptions

ı this hill[41] may also be identified with ıguna I Kaḻugumalaı also abounds in eḻuttu inscriptions recording the names several Jain monks and nuns from rent parts of the Tamil country, at se instance images were carved on this [42] Of the large number of places tioned here Kuraṇḍi, Kōttāru, Tiruchaṇam, Tirunarungoṇḍai, Tirumalai, ipparutti and Perūr have been known Jain centres from inscriptions of different ods, earlier and later than those at ugumalai The name Paḻayirai, another re mentioned in one of these inscriptions, iggestive of Palaiyārai, which figures in ıar's *Tēvāram*[43] and *Periya Purānam*[44] he scene of a Jain Śaiva conflict out of ch the latter emerged successful

It is perhaps at Śittaṇṇavāśal that there ı more or less continuous series of raphic records to show that the Jains t have occupied it almost continuously n the beginning of the Christian era vn to the 9th or 10th century A D For, r the single Brāhmī inscription on one he stone beds in the Ēḻadipāṭṭam cavern, re are a number of short inscriptions early characters of about the 6th-7th ıturies A D in the same place perhaps erring to the occupants of the cavern [45] ese are followed by the cave temple of ıśvanātha assignable to the seventh cenry on stylistic grounds This cave temple ıs renovated by a Jain teacher from adurai in the period of Śrimāra Śrīvallbha 15 862 A D), when a structural *mandapa* as also added to it [46]

Caverns with Brāhmī inscriptions have lso been located in Pugaḻūr in the Karur taluk of the Tiruchirapalli district and Arachchalūr near Erode A number of such caverns with beds but without Brāhmi records are found in the Tondaimandalam region such as Sedrampattu (North Arcot),[47] Nagari and Kaṇṇikāpuram (Chittoor District) [48] In places like Veḍāl, Toṇḍūr Tiruppāṇmalai, Vallimalai (North Arcot District) and Karuppankuṉru (Chingleput District)[49] the caverns with beds seem to have served as monasteries and nunneries in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries The occurrence of caverns with beds and subsequent addition of structural edifices around rock sculptures are a common feature in all the major Jain centres in this region as in Tirumalai, Tirunarungondai, Tirakkōl and Chittāmūr

Śingavaram or Tirunātharkuṉru in the South Arcot district has a cavern and a series of Tīrthankara Sculptures The two inscriptions found here, recording the *niśidigai* of Jain *āchāryas* who fasted unto death, are dated in the 5th 6th and 10th centuries respectively [50]

The above survey is by no means exhaustive, for there are quite a few centres of the same period in the Kongu region and Toṇdaimandalam, where inscriptions assignable to the same period on palaeographic grounds, are found In Karuppankuṉru near Periya Veṇmaṇi in the Chingleput district, apart from a cavern with beds, there are Jain sculptures, one of which, representing Pārśvanātha with attendants, is carved on a boulder within a shrine-like niche which resembles very closely the Māmallapuram niches in the open air rock

sculpture[51] The inscription that accompanies it records the setting up of the 'Tēvāram' (*Dēvagriha*) by one Vāsudēva-Siddhānta-bhitāra in characters assignable to the eighth century A D[52]

Many of these centres thus seem to have existed before the early Chōḷa times and quite a few continued to flourish right through to the 12th-13th centuries and some down to the 17th century and to the present day

The evidence thus obtained is hardly uniform and at times even disparate It does not seem to indicate a conflict in the 9th and 10th centuries A D or later for it is precisely in this period that Jain inscriptions in the Chōḷa occupied areas increased, new temples came up in several places, while structural additions were made to existing rock sculptures on hillocks or boulders to expand them into larger temple complexes, with monastic establishments attached to them In the period of Rājarāja I, in particular, almost all Jain centres in Toṇḍaimāḍu received patronage The Tirumalai temple was named Kundavai Jinālaya with structural additions[53] and a new one was built in Dādāpuram in the South Arcot district under the patronage of Kundavai, sister of Rājarāja I[54] The latter is not extant now

The epigraphic evidence coming up from those centres, where literary tradition locates the stories of conflict between the Śaivas and Jains, presents a different picture, hardly even indicating the nature or results of the conflict In Tiruppāpuliyūr, where Appar is said to have been the head of a Jain monastery before his conversion to Śaivism, there seems to have existed a monastic establishment as early as the middle of the fifth century A D as seen from the *Lōkavibhāga* datum giving the date Śaka 358=436 A D, equivalent to 22nd regnal year of Simhavarman[55] At this monastery, this original Prakrit work was copied by Sarvanandi after it was translated into Sanskrit The later destruction of the establishment by a Kādava who also built out of the materials thus obtained the Śiva temple called Guṇadaravīchchuram at Tiruvadigai, is referred to in the *Periya Purāṇam*[56] This Śiva temple is certainly not the same as the Tiruvadigai Vīrattāṉam sung by Appar after his conversion, but is represented by a ruined brick structure enshrining a fairly big *dhārā linga*, locally known as Gunadaravīchchuram Again it must be noted that the bigger Śiva temple i e, the Vīrattāṉam is also mainly a brick structure, with stone used for certain portions of the shrine and for later additions. It does not enshrine a *linga* but contains the seated images of Śiva and his consort in its *garbha-griha*, a featute also met with in the Vēdapurīśvara temple at Tiruvēṟkāḍu (near Madras), where local tradition assigns the construction of its apsidal shrine to a Pallava king The Virattāṉam's earliest inscriptions are those of Pallava Nripatunga and Kampavarman i e, the latter half of the 9th century A D[57] They are found on the doorjambs leading to the shrine But an earlier inscription assignable to Paramēśvaravarman II, son of Rājasimha (728-32 A D) is also found on a slab lying in front of this temple registering a gift of gold[58] Chōḷa inscriptions are found only in the *mandapa* and other parts of the temple and date only from the time of

Rājēndra I,[59] with a Chaturmukhalinga also assignable to the period of Rājēndra I

In Tiruppādirippuliyūr, the Śiva temple has Chōla inscriptions of the the time of Parāntaka I,[60] recording grants Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that the Jain monastery existed before the time of the Chōlas and perhaps even before the Vīraṭṭānēśvara came up in Tiruvadigai There is nothing inherently impossible in Appar's association with this *maṭha* Further, a later Jain tradition tries to bring Appar back into the Jain fold by connecting him with the Appāṇḍanātha temple at Tirunarungoṇḍai not far from here [61] In this Jain temple the earliest inscriptions are of the 9th century A D [62] and the name Appāṇḍa seems to have been in use from the time of Chōla Rājarāja I [63] Appar's connection in another conflict with the Jains at Palaiyārai[64] also stands uncorroborated by epigraphic evidence Yet, there is a *mādakkōyil* called Paḻaiyārai Vedataḷi near Dārāsuram believed to have been built by a Chōla king, to whom Appar revealed a *Linga* hidden by the rival Jains This temple seems to have undergone renovation at later periods and is now a brick structure with partial use of stone There is no inscription here but the presence of a Dakshiṇāmurti image of the early Chōḻa style would suggest a connection with 10th or 11th century Chōḻa temples There is a possible reference to this place in a Chitral inscription of the ninth century A D referring to Paḷḷiyirai kuratti, a Jain lady teacher from Paḻaiyirai [65]

In Tiruvārūr, where the Śaiva-Jain conflict is connected with the story of Daṇḍi Adigaḷ, who is earlier in time than Appar according to tradition,[66] the local Śiva temple of Tyāgarāja contains Chōḻa inscriptions from the time of Uttama Chōla and Rājēndra I,[67] while two inscriptions of a Rājakēsari, identified with Āditya I, are in characters of the 12th century A D and believed to be copies of earlier inscriptions [68]

The Kūriuva-nāyaṇār story at Chidambaram,[69] though not connected with the Jains, seems to suggest that the Kalabhras were followers of non-Brahmanical religions and hence the orthodox brāhmanas of Chidambaram refused to crown him The temple here hardly provides any evidence of a struggle by way of epigraphic records Similarly for the later Śaiva-Vaishnava conflict referred to only in literature, there is no direct evidence in the inscriptions of the Gōvindarāja shrine [70] The Mūrti-nāyaṇār episode at Madurai is somewhat similar [71] In fact, none of the important centres of conflict known from literary evidence is seen to contain any epigraphic or even architectural evidence of a struggle and displacement of one by the other There is perhaps one indirect evidence of a Jain cave temple deliberately converted into a Śaiva one in the case of the Malaiyadikkurichchi cave temple where an inscription of Śēndan Māran (645-695 A D) records the excavation of the cave under his orders [72] The cave temple itself contains traces of older Jain sculptures and evidences of remodelling of the cave to convert it into a Śaiva one [73] Would it be correct to identify this Pāndya king with the Nedumāran said to have been converted from Jainism to Śaivism by Sambandar? Or, would

Srī Māra Śrīvallabha of the 9th century A D, who also bore the title Nedumāran, be a more acceptable candidate? We have already drawn attention to the renovation of the Sittannavāśal Jain cave temple under this ruler suggesting some obscurity or neglect of this centre before the 9th century

Thus if we are left with only epigraphic material to discuss the religious history of this region, we would hardly be in a position to present the correct or even complete picture Neglect and deliberate attempts at destruction of Jain and perhaps also Buddhist monuments seem to have taken place at various stages in the history of Tamil Nadu, while periods of acute conflict are perhaps reflected in the hymns of the most important trio Some of these episodes could thus have occurred earlier and some during the 10th century and much later Yet, in not a single hymn of the trio do we have any reference to the name of a Chōḷa king with the exception of Kōchchenganān,[74] who has recently been proved to have been a historical figure, as the grandfather of Vijayālaya, the first of the imperial Chōlas [75] Further, there is also no indication in their emotional outpourings that any Chōla king of the eminence of Parāntaka I or Āditya I was the author of the temples they were visiting In this connection, it is pertinent to draw attention to the reference to *tiruppadiyam* singing and grants made for it under Parāntaka I[76] or even earlier under Āditya I,[77] suggesting that the hymns were already popular or were being popularised and were being included as part of the daily worship An earlier reference to *Tiruppadiyam* singing as part of the daily worship occurs in an inscription Vijayanandivikramavarman from Tiruvallam probably of Nandivarman III(A D 846-869)

Problems of a similar kind confront when dealing with the Vaishṇava literary tradition and epigraphic records It is perhaps even more difficult to date any of the Vaishnava Āḻvārs with any amount of certainty with the help of epigraphic evidence For, in most cases, the temples sung by them do not contain inscriptions of a period earlier than the middle Chōḷa or later Chōla kings In a few cases, as Śrīrangam,[78] inscriptions of the early Chōla are found to occur on the doorjambs of the shrines or in other parts of the temple There is hardly any foundation inscription which would fix the exact date of their construction Further, this is also true of a number of Śiva temples where the early Chōḷa inscriptions are not foundation inscriptions but merely records of grants The specific references to stone temples *karrali*, erected in this period are also somewhat curious, for they may also indicate the re-erection in stone of earlier brick temples and, occasionally, an entirely new temple in stone

It may be useful at this point to quote evidence from archaeological excavations, such as those of Kāvēripattinam, Uraiyūr Kāñchīpuram,[80] to show that brick structures were very common in this region at least from the 3rd century B C If one adds to it several later references to erection of brick structures as in the Kūram Plates[81] and also the significant Maṇḍagappaṭṭu record[82] pointedly referring to the non-use of brick, etc, it is not difficult to see that brick was the common material

ınstruction with the possible use of at key points in a structure from very times and continued to be so even the use of stone became the more ır practice A period of more than /ears would otherwise remain completely unaccounted for by way of secular and ous edifices, while all over India and nearer home, in the Andhra country, ıes of Buddhist and Brahmanical stru-, were erected in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa other places, including the Ashṭābhuja u temple,[33] not to speak of several ıukuṇḍın structures of the fifth cen- A D referred to in their copper plates lıng a shrine for Gaṇēśa[34]

he tradition of using stone must have ı with the Buddhists and Jains for habitation the natural caverns were nd made suitable It is also significant n these caverns the Brāhmī inscriptions in distinct architectural terminology he drip ledge, roof, fronts, etc ,[35] indi-ꞔ structural additions to the caverns, from carving the stone into different s Hence, it would be wrong to assume ıone of the temples in the Chōla coun-, earlier than the 10th century A D at least must have come up in the d of Kōchchenganān Architecturally, f one examines the size and style of the Chōḷa temples more closely, it would ne clear that the uniformity in size and was due not particularly to the pre-ce of a single style leading to a homo-ıs group of temples but also to many ıe earlier unpretentious structures being delled in stone This would explain act that no Chōḷa shrine sung by either *āyaṇārs* or *āḷvārs* has claim to imposing size or design for none of them is more than 20 feet square or rises to a height of more than two storeys[36] This is particularly true of even those central shrines in huge temple complexes, where there is hardly any evidence of inscriptions earlier than the middle or late Chōla period when the *drāvida* style of architecture had reached its optimum development

Looked at from all these angles epigraphic evidence by itself is inadequate for explaining the diverse factors and elements involved in a process of change in the socio-religious organisation of a people Historical writing has necessarily to take into account all kinds of evidence and correlate them by way of cross-checking and verifying data from different sources Again, it would be highly unscientific to treat any part of this subcontinent in isolation and disregard the general trends in historical development while trying to throw light on a few opaque phases

On the basis of all available evidences taken together, a tentative reconstruction of the course of events may be offered After the initial spread of the Jain faith as represented in the period of the Brāhmī inscriptions, the Jains increased in strength and influence around the 5th century A D , when the the Drāvida Sangha was established in Madurai in 470 A D[470] by one Vajranandi, probably as the centre of a network of proselytisation, supported by rulers of "non-orthodox", non Brahmanical predilections, i e the Kaḷabhras The Pāṭaliputra Jain monastery evidently formed one of the early Jain establishments for the work of propagation

If the absence of epigraphic records after 5th-6th centuries and before 8th-9th centuries is any indication, then the period before the 8th-9th centuries must have witnessed a period of great changes due to the renewed attempts at the spread of a Brahmanical socio-religious order as seen from the Pallava copper plate records, followed by those of the Pāndyas some of which seem to indicate a clear revival of patronage to Brāhmana settlements The main difference was that it was not through Vedic religion that Brahmanism assumed ascendancy as a result of a process of acculturisation and assimilation The *Tēvāram* represents only one element, although a major one, for the popularisation of Puranic lore through the concept of *bhakti* which resulted in the temple developing into the pivotal institution of the socio-religious life of the people This development was but gradual and apparently reached its culmination in the 9th-10th centuries when all religious activity was oriented towards the puranic religion and agamic worship In this process the rich variety of local and popular cults got assimilated in the capacious fold of the Śaiva Vaishṇava sects of the Brahmanical order The *Tēvāram* and *Divyaprabandham* reflect this process of assimilation and the leading role played by the Bhakti movement in it, without which it could not have reached a successful end

The same process affected the Jain religion deeply, firstly by relegating it to the background and secondly by influencing what began as a non-believing or atheistic religion into a highly theistic cult adopting puranic elements in its worship and the temple as its central institution The Jain became as much a part of the new order a other sects by adopting the same stratification in their socio economic organisation and became indistinguishable except by their scriptures and mythology from their brahmanical counterparts

Jainism took a second lease of life as i were from about the 8th-9th centuries A D and received re-inforcements from time to time from Karnataka In the earlier period they seem to have wielded considerable influence in urban areas such as Kāñchi, Kāvērippattiṇam, Karūr and Madurai In the later period they retired to the rural areas, to be content with the benefits of royal patronage but with no political influence

Conflicts, however, did not cease altogether, for, with every re-inforcement from Karnataka, followed by a fresh endowment from a local patron or a mightier power, the rival Brahmanical sects must have opposed the Jains with a fresh attempt at supercedence

Foot Notes

1 B G L Swamy, 'The Date of the Tēvāram Trio An Analysis and Re appraisal' *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras, 1975, pp 119-179

2 I, Mahadevan, "Corpus of Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions", *Seminar on Inscriptions*, Ed R Nagaswamy, Madras 1966, pp 57-73 Wherever Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions are mentioned in this paper, the reading and dating of I Mahadevan hawe been followed

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Kiḷśātta mangalam (M D Sampath, "Jaina Inscriptions of Śāttamangalam" in *Seminar on Inscriptions*), pp 157-159 Pañcha Pāndavamalai (*EI*, IV, pp 136 37)

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TAS, I, pp 193 195

244 of 1950 51

Champakalakshmi, *op cit*, p 68

54 of 1910

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36 37 of 1908

37 563 of 1911

38 59 of 1931 32

39 *SII* XIV, 41, K V Ramesh, *op cit*, No 12

40 *SII*, XIV, 129, K V Ramesh, *op cit* No 16

41 *SII* V, 405 & 406, K V Ramesh identifies him with Varaguṇa II, of No 18

42 *SII*, V, 310 of 1960-61

43 Appar, *Tēvāram*, Paḷaiyāṟai, Verse 1

44 *Periya Purāṇam Tirunāvukkaraśar Purāṇam*, V 294

45 *IPS* 1 and 7 (388 of 1914, 324 to 326 of 1960-61, 327 to 331 of 1960-61)

46 *SII* XV, 45 (215 of 1940 41), K V Ramesh, *op cit*, No 22

47 *ARSIE*, 1942 43, Part I

48 *Ibid*

49 R Champakalakshmi, "An Unnoticed Jain Cavern near Madurantakam, *Journal of the Madras University*

50 I Mahadevan, *op cit*, No 76 & App, K V Ramesh *op cit*, Nos 6 and 45

51 R Champakalakshmi, *JMU*, Vol XLI, 1969, fig 3

52 *Ibid*

53 *EI*, IX, pp 229 ff

54 8 of 1919

55 T V Mahalingam, *Kanchipuram in Early South Indian History* Madras, 1969, p 42

56 *Periya Purāṇam*

57 36 of 1903 *SII*, VIII, 309, 35 of 1903 *SII*, VIII, 308, See also R Champa kalakshmi, "the Bhakti movement and Religious Persecution in Tamil Nadu" Indian History Congress, Calicut, 1976

58 *SII*, II, p 357, T V Mahalingam *op cit*, p 133

59 *SII* II, p 172

60 S R Balasubramaniam, *Early Chola Temples*, 1971 p 242-43

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65 *SII*, V, 320

66. *Periya Purāṇam*, *Dandi Adigaḷ Purāṇam*, VV 4 18

67 S Ponnusamy, The Thyagaraja Temple-Ti 1072, pp 29, 30, Madras

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358 of 1959 60

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Appar, *Tēvāram*, Sambandar, *Tēvāram* Also Tirumangai Āḻvār

Velanjeri Copper Plate of Parāntaka I, recently discovered by the Tamil Nadu State Dept of Archaeology

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I Mahadevan, *op cit*, Nos 10, 11, 40, Also K V Raman and Y Subbarayalu

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11 A HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION FROM MADAVALAM

C R Srinivasan

Great impetus is being given in recent days to the study of Epigraphy The efforts which are being made to popularise this subject by the Department of Archaeology, Madras are highly commendable As a result of this, a number of hero-stones strewn all over Tamil Nadu have come to lime light Even non-departmental men like teachers have taken a keen interest to promote the study of Epigraphy in their own limited way Thus I had the opportunity of coming across the present inscription from a school teacher who was also kind enough to supply me the photograph of the inscription on my request The inscription under review is engraved on a hero-stone found near the Angakāriśvaram-udaiyār temple in Madavāḷam, Tiruppattur Taluk, North Arcot District The two records[1] which were copied here by the Epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey in 1957 belong to Bukka II and Bhūpati-Uḍaiyār of the Vijayanagara dynasty and they are dated in Śaka 1319 and 1337 respectively One of them mentions that the temple served as *añjiṇān pugalidam* (refugee colony) to the temple servants, etc These two records are in no way helpful either in interpreting or understanding the record under discussion

The slab bearing the inscription is stated to measure 805 cms in length, 90 cms in height There are only nine lines of writing The first five lines are engraved above the sculptural representation of a warrior in basrelief in a defiant attitude, holding probably a bow in his left hand, the uplifted right hand holding a dagger or an arrow The other four lines are written to the right side of the warrior There seems to be no writing at all on the left side The left leg is slightly bent at the knee-cap and it seems to have been placed on a raised position in order to afford a firm grip on the ground to wield the weapon The trunk which is bent at the hip is stooping towards left and indicates the action The warrior faces front with a slight right side profile There are some unidentified articles at the sides of both the feet of the warrior The figure closely resembles the figures carved in some of the hero-stones of Chengam which are illustrated in 'Chengam Naḍu-karkaḷ'

The language of the inscription is Tamil and the alphabet Vaṭṭeḻuttu Palaeographically the record is assignable to the 7th century A D Some palaeographical features deserve mention here The consonants in *Viśaiya* (lines 1), *Kūḷampāḍiyār* (line 4) and *ḷ in Mandapaḷḷi* (lines 2-3), *Kūlampāḍiyār*, *Vēlān* (line 4) and *Ālvārilamakkaḷ* (lines 7-8) remind us of the respective modern Tamil characters Consonants *m, p*

ch (lıne 1), whıch are compaıable wıth e found ın sımılar early ınscııptıons, be ınstanced to prove that the ıecoıd ılly belongs to the 7th century A D e close affınıtıes are evıdently seen bet- thıs record and the Baırakūru epıgraph ıe same ruler

The ınscrıptıon ıs dated ın the 12th ıl year of the kıng Vıjaya Īchchuvaıa-mar (Īśvaravarman) and recoıds the ı of Vēḷā[ṉ], a servant of Kūlampādı-ın a cattle-ıaıd at Manḍapallı and the ettıng up of the hero-stone by the heıoes *ıakkal*) of Toḍāvāḷ Āḷvār

Two ınscrıptıons[3] from Chengam Taluk, belongıng to Mahēndravaıman and ḍ ın hıs 11th yeaı and the other belong-to the ıeıgn of Īśvaravarman, wıth ıts portıon damaged, though wııtten ın rent hands, both mentıon a ceıtaın mpōttaraśar, clearly ındıcatıng theıeby these two ruleıs were not far ıemoved me Chalukya Vıkramādıtya names the Pallava ıulers defeated by hım as ısımha, Mahēndra and Īśvaıa, the last e beıng mentıoned once as Īśvaıapōta- The ınsıstence of the Chalukya souıces amıng the ıuler only as Īśvaıa and the enance of ınscııptıons ın dependently rıng to Īśvaravarman and Paramēśvara-ıan ın the same Chengam Taluk show Īśvara and Paramēśvaıa were two rent Pallava rulers In the lıght of thıs ıt evıdence, the ıdentıfıcatıon of Īśvara Paramēśvara by earlıer hıstoııans ıld be vıewed wıth cautıon It ıs lıkely, uggested by Dr R Nagaswamı, that ēndravarman entertaıned Īśvaravaıman ıs joınt ruler durıng the latteı part of reıgn.

Dr Nagaswamı, who has edıted these two ınscııptıons, further holds the vıew[4] that Īśvaıavaıman and Paıamēśvaıavarman are dıffeıent kıngs as ınscııptıons of these kıngs are dıstınctly and dıfferently named after them and also on the grounds of avaılabılıty of ıecoıds of Īśvaravarman fıom Hanumantapuıam ın the Salem Dıstııct Regaıdıng the date of Īśvaravaıman Dr Nagaswamı ıs of the opınıon that Īśvaıa-varman and Mahēndıavaıman of the Pallava dynasty weıe veıy close ın poınt of tıme and he admıts the possıbılıty of theıı ıulıng the regıon eıther joıntly oı successıvely

Whıle edıtıng the Vēlūı ınscııptıon of Vıjaya Narasımhavaıman, K D Swamına-than comments that the exıstence of a numbeı of sımılaı heıo stones ın and aıound Noıth Arcot testıfıes to the dıstuıbed state of the ıegıon duııng the 8th 9th centuıy[5] The present ıecoıd ıs certaınly datable to the 7th century and ıs much eaılıeı to the Vēḷūı ınscııptıon of Narasımhavaıman edıted by hım Needless to say, we have to admıt the theoıy that these Vaṭṭeḻuttu records do belong to the ımpeııal Pallavas and not to the Ganga, Noḷamba oı Bana subordınates of the Pallavas Untıl we get moıe evıdences, we have no otheı alter-natıve except to assıgn these recoıds to the ımperıal Pallavas and, ın doıng so, the present record has to be eıther assıgned to Paıamēśvaravaıman oı we must accept the theory that Īśvaravaıman was one of the co-regents of the undeı aged rulıng kıng, a feature that ıs commonly seen ın the Chola house

The two place names Manḍapallı and Kūḷampādı cannot be ıdentıfıed Maḍavāḷam[6] the fınd-spot of the ınscrıptıon ıs undoubtedly a later name derıved fıom Madavıḷāgam

A provisional reading of the text is given below -

1 Kō-Viśaiya Īchchuvaraparumarku padi-

2 ṉ irandāvadu Maṇḍapaḷ-

3 liṉ-nasuk-koṇḍa ñānruk-

4 Kūḷambāḍiyāi śēvakar Vēḷā[ṉ]

5 eḍu[tta] toru iduvittup-paṭṭā[ṇ]

6 To[ḍāvā]-

7 ḷ Āḷvāi = i

8 ḷamakaḷ

9 [kaḷ]

Foot Notes -

1 *A R Ep.*, 1957, Nos B 129-30

2 *EC*, X, Mulubagal, No 211

3 *Chengam Nadu Karkal*, 1971 Nos 97 and 78

4 *Ibid*, pp IV-V

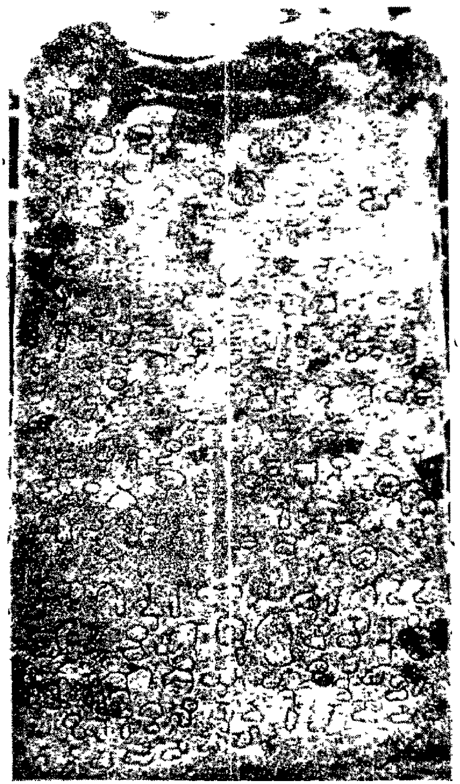
5 *E I*, XXXII, p 120

6 Maṇdapaḷḷi in possibly the same as modern Maḍavāḷam, the findspot of the above epigraph.

MADAVALAM INSCRIPTION



A CHALUKYA ALUPA INSCRIPTION FROM JAMBANI



A NEW CHALUKYA-ALUPA CRIPTION FROM JAMBANI

M J Sharma

his interesting Kannaḍa inscription of cond half of the 7th century A D, is being brought to the notice of the s for the first time here, was discovered late Dr P Gururaja Bhat who had supplied me with an estampage and photographs

his undated inscription is engraved rectangular stone surface, the text written in 18 irregularly formed lines, the letters are not of uniform size ie top of the slab, just above line 1 e text, are engraved the figure of a fish facing right, the twin fish being amily symbol of the Āḷupa dynasty members describe themselves as scions Pāndyan stock right from the begin- of the 8th century A D onwards

he inscribed slab was discovered near ned Śiva temple in a forest not far Jambāni, a village in the Sagar Taluk moga District, Karnataka The record graved in archaic Kannaḍa characters language which are regular for the d to which the inscription belongs, ly the *second half of the 7th century* Though, as stated above, the top of slab carries the "*Mina-lāñchhana*" of Āḷupas of South Kanara, the inscription lly refers itself to the universal reign *uvī-rājya*) of the Badami Chalukya emperor Vinayāditya Satvāśraya, who is described in the usual lithic style as '*Prithivīvallabha - mahārājādhirāja - paramēś-vara-bhatārar* Next is mentioned his feudatory Āḷupēndra-Chitravāhana's rule over 'Bana-vāsi' (*Banavāsi rājyakeye*) Since we already know from a couple of Badami Chalukya copper-plates[1] as well as two Āḷupa stone inscriptions from Kigga,[2] (Chikamagalur District) that not only Chitravāhana but also his father Gunasāgara were placed in charge of the Kadamba-manḍala by their Chalukya overlords, we can safely conclude that by 'Banavāsi' the present inscription refers in fact to the well known Banavāsi 12,000 division which is the same as Kadamba-mandala

We know from the Shiggaon plates of Chalukya Vijayāditya issued in 707 A D and edited by my revered teacher Dr G S Gai that Chitravāhana Ālupēndra had married Kumkumadēvī, the sister of Vijayāditya The Jambāni inscription is the only known inscription of Chalukya Vinayāditya contain-ing a reference to his son-in-law Chitravāhana Āḷupēndra It is, however, not known whether Chitravāhana had married Kum-kumadēvī at the time the present inscrip-tion was caused to be engraved

Immediately after referring to Chitra-vāhana the inscription mentions a certain

Babhruvāhana as the administrator of Kodala which is most probably the same as modern Mangalore which even today bears the second name Kuḍla If the "*vāhana*" ending in the name of Babhruvāhana is any indication, he may be taken as being a junior prince of the Āḷupa house

It is not possible to make out with certainty the purport of the inscription with the help of the available estampage and photographs There is a reference to a certain Pāṇḍi Virarasa of Pubaittṭyura, who bears a second name(*dvitīya-namadhēyan*) as Dharma-Gōsāsiga Gōsāsi was commonly appended to the names of those persons who had performed the *gōsahasra* ceremony The inscription seems to register a gift of some lands at the village Jabeni which is the same as Jambāṇi, the findspot The donors were the residents of Pannirpaḷḷi- which could either stand for the name of a village or refer to a unit consisting of 12 villages.

Interestingly enough it is stated in the imprecatory passage that those who flout the provisions of the grant recorded in the slab would have destroyed in effect the four villages of Tānagundūra, Isavura, Gauḍa and Bādavi Of these places, Tāṇagundūra is the same as the ancient Sthānakunduru, the modern Tāḷagunda which has yielded interesting 5th century Kadamba inscriptions written in chaste classical Sanskrit Bādavi is the same as Vātāpi-adhishthāna, the well-known capital of the Chalukyas in the Bijapur District of Karnataka The other two places, Isavura and Gauda, cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge The record ends with the usual imprecation in Kannada that the flouters of the grant would incur the sin of having destroyed one thousand brāhmanas and one thousand tawny cows at the holy place of Vārāṇasi

Text

1 Svasti[ı*]Śrī Vinayāditya Satyā[śra]-
2 ya śrī-prithivī-vallabha mahārā[jā]-
3 dhirāja-paramēśvara bhaṭārar [pṛi]-
4 thivī rājya keye Ālupēndra-Chitravā[ha]-
5 nar-ā Banavāsi rājya keye Ba[bhru]vāha-
6 nar-ā Koḍal-āḷe Pubattiyuraia Pāṇḍi Vīra-
7 rasa Dharmma gōsāsiga-dvitīya-nāmadhēyan tamma
8 temuḷtiya rā mati konḍu Putti-
9 lagereya keḷagam mūru baḷiyu
10 tamma pukoḷiyumam Jabeni[ḷalgu]-mā-
11 ḍi legga-nirisi kottar-ppanni-

rppaḷḷıya arıvokkalo[ḷ]
Tāṇagundura Isavura Gaudada
Bādavıya nālku-gıāmavan-aḷıda [ma]-
hāpātaka
Bāraṇāśıya sāsırvva pārvvaru
sāsıra-kavıleyuma konda dōsha [pā]-
taka pañcha-mahāpātaka

›tes

Soraba Plates (*IA* XIX, pp 146 ff) and Shıggaon Plates (*EI*, XXXII, pp 317 ff and plates)
EC, VI, Kp 37 38
EI, XXXII, pp 317 ff and pl ıtes

13 JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARAVARMAN

S R Goyal

The stone slab bearing this inscription was found in the outer wall of the southern gate of the Jama Masjid of Jaunpur It was discovered and first published by General Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol XI, pp 124 f, Plate XXXVII, No 1, and was re-edited by J F Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III pp 228 ff, Plate XXXII-A The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation but it is only a fragment of a much larger inscription Nothing has been lost at the top and at the ends of the lines However, "from thirty-eight to seventy-two *aksharas*—probably the larger number,—are lost at the beginning of each line, and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant' [1] The available portion of the record does not contain any date

Line 2 of the Jaunpur inscription refers to the lineage of Mukharà (i e, Maukhari) kings (*Mukharānām bhūbhujām=anvavāyē*) and line 4 speaks of the king Īśvaravarman as the son of his predecessor whose name is lost (*tasya dikshu vitatāmalakirttēr= ātmajo nripatir=Īśvaravarmmā*) However, it is definitely known from the Asirgadh seal of Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman[2] that Īśvaravarman was the son of Mahārāja Ādityavarman and the grandson of Mahārāja Harivarman while Īśānavarman (known date M E 611=554 A D), the son of Īśvaravarman and father of Śarvavarman, was the first Mahārājādhirāja of the family The dynasty of the Maukharis was evidently a sept of the Mālavas, for, according to the *Mahābhārata* the Madra king Aśvapati got one hundred sons,called the Mālavas, through his queen Mālavī as a result of the boon granted by Yama Vaivasvata to the king's daughter Sāvitrī,[3] while, according to the Haraha inscription,[4] the Maukharis were the descendants of the hundred sons whom the king Aśvapati obtained through the grace of Vaivasvata [5]

Since the fragmentary portion of the Jaunpur record does not contain any name except that of Īśvaravarman Fleet assigned it to that ruler, though it is only fair to add that he was somewhat doubtful on this point For he also states that the lacunae in the inscription "are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Īśvaravarman or one of his descendant" Some years ago D C Sircar expressed his disagreement with this view He argues that as the victory over the Āndhra kings narrated in the extant portions of the lines 7 and 8 of the Jaunpur record has been ascribed to Īśānavarman in the verse 13

raha inscription, the victories of r document should be assigned rman or one of his successors[7] ee Though we admit that the nature of the Jaunpur record likely that it was engraved during of Īśānavarman or one of his , yet we feel that, so far as the nts described in the extant porres 5 ff are concerned, they should ed to Īśvaravarman only

y, it is true that, according to the cription, the Āndhras were defeated arman, but it does not necessw that this victory did not take ng the reign of king Īśvaravarman ha record[8] itself expressly states varman "occupied the throne *after* g the lord of the Āndhras" etc *lhrādhipatim* etc) It means that occurred during the reign of nan and Īśānavarman fought the ing only as a prince The author inpur record, therefore, could very this achievement to Īśvaravarman, in whose reign this victory was The history of Āndhra is also agreement with this conclusion e ruler who extended his influence iver Narmadā was Mādhavavarman , the great monarch of the Visununasty According to the Polamuru his 48th regnal year he crossed Gōdāvarī with a desire to conquer rn regions The first Indrapalapur also informs us that he ruled upto Rēvā or Narmadā (*Rēvā sarit-salila-āshanāyā bhuvō bharttur-Mādhava-*) According to the chronology by D C Sircar, Mādhavavarman flourished in the middle of the sixth century A D But the discovery of the Indrapala pur records has proved that the last known member of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty, viz Vikramēndravarman II Uttamāśraya was ruling in the Śaka year 488 (=565 A D) Therefore, after analysing the whole data of the Vishṇukuṇḍin records, Rama Rao[11] has placed the death of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya in 518 A D And as this ruler crossed the Gōdāvarī in his 48th regnal year (Polamuru grant) this event should also be placed in or about 518 A D It fits well with the suggestion that the Maukhari-Vishnukuṇḍin clash took place in the reign of Īśvaravarman (who may be placed in c 510-35 A D) and not after the accession of Īśānavarman (whose known date is 554 A D)

Secondly, the Jaunpur inscription describes two other achievements of the Maukhari king (apparently the same who defeated the Āndhra invader) both of which indicate the same period for him In line 5 it is said that he allayed the troubles caused by the approach of cruel (*krūra*) people while lines 9 and 10 speak of his success in the Himalayan region which was full of swollen 'mountain streams' (*giri-sarit*), 'cool waters of the mountain of snow' (*prālēy ādri bhuvaś=cha śita-payasah*) and waters 'fragrant with benzoin' (*prapāta-salilaih snātam śilā-gandhibhih*) The phrase *dhārā-mārgga-vinirgat-āgni kanikā* occurring in line 6 is of no historical importance, for, the view of Fleet that it contains a reference to the city of Dhārā is not correct Probably the phrase only means 'the spark of fire issuing from the sword'[12] But the Maukhari victory in the Himalayan

region is important It reminds one of a similar achievement of Jivitagupta I, the third king of the Later Gupta dynasty, of the Mālava-janapada of Rajasthan [13] As Īśānavarman, the son of Īśvaravarman, fought against Kumāragupta, the son of Jīvitagupta I, Īśvaravarman and Jīvitagupta I must have been contemporaries Now, about Jīvitagupta I the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasēna states that his enemies were afraid of him 'even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of rushing and waving torrents full of snow[14] Significantly Jīvitagupta I is also credited with success against some enemies who "stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water (*and*) were covered with the branches of plantain trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra-palms '[15] The Maukharis are also known to have obtained some success against people living on the seashore during the reign of Īśvaravarman, for the Haraha inscription boasts that among the enemies who were defeated by Īśānavarman *before* he occupied the throne were also the Gauḍas who were compelled by him "to leave (dry) land for all time to come and to take shelter in (the waters of) the sea [16] Thus several significant accomplishments of the Later Guptas and the Maukharis in the first half of the sixth century were similar But that is not all Another ruler of the same period, namely Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana (known date 532 A D) not only defeated Mihirakula, the king of the Hūnas (whose arrival in the *antarvēdi* could easily be described as the approach of a *krūra* people who affected the happiness of mankind) but also extended his sway "from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya up to (the mountain) Mahēndra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra trees (*and*) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gangā, up to the western ocean "[17] As he reached up to the Lauhitya i e , the Brahmaputrā as well as the mountain Mahēndra i e , the Eastern Ghats[18], it is quite likely that he conquered the Bengal coastal region also, it is not mentioned in his *praśasti* separately probably because its author wanted to describe only the limits of the conquests of his patron in the four directions

The similarity between the achievements of Yaśōdharman-Vishnuvardhana, Jivitagupta I and Īśvaravarman, as described respectively in the Mandasor, Aphsad and Jaunpur inscriptions, is too striking to be ignored In view of the contemporaneity of these rulers and the fact that two of them viz , Jīvitagupta I and Īśvaravarman were ordinary kings enjoying the titles *Kshitīśa chūdāmani* and *Mahārāja* respectively while Yaśōdharman-Vishnuvardhana was a *Samrāṭ*, this may be best explained by the assumption that emperor Yaśōdharman Vishnuvardhana was the overlord of Īśvaravarman and Jīvitagupta I and that Later Gupta and Maukhari rulers participated in the campaigns of the Mālava emperor when he fought against the Hūnas (the *krūra* people of the Jaunpur inscription and probably the Sūlikas of the Haraha record), invaded the Himalayan region (mentioned both in the Jaunpur and the Aphsad inscriptions) and conquered the eastern coastal region (either on his way to Kāmarūpa or

ıg his march towards the mountain ēndra) It is significant that the Āndhras conspicuous by their absence both in Aphsad and Mandasor records It is therefore, quite likely that they were ıted by the prince Īśānavarman after ollapse of the empire of Yaśōdharman-nuvardhana

Thus there appears to be nothing in the pur inscription which cannot be ıned by the assumptions that the ries described in its extant portion achieved during the reign of Īśvara-an (whether it was written and engraved ıg his reign or not) and that Īśvaravarman he feudatory of the Mālava emperor e was the status of Jīvitagupta I of Later Gupta dynasty These assump-also explain how these petty rulers could go on military expeditions to far distant regions In later times, when their respective successors attained imperial status, these victories could easily be described as won by them in their own capacity Such examples are not altogether unknown to history According to the *Prithivīrāja-vijaya*, Durlabharāja - Chāhamāna bathed his sword at the confluence of the Gangā and the ocean and enjoyed the Gauda land As shown by Daśaratha Sharma this should be taken as a reference to the success achieved by the Chāhamānas in Bengal under the banner of their overlord Vatsarāja-Pratihāra [19] Similar seems to have been the case of Īśvaravarman (and also of Jīvita-gupta I) This suggestion, if correct, would necessitate a thorough revision of the early history of the Maukhari and the Later Gupta dynasties

Notes

Fleet, *CII*, III, p 228
Ibid, p 229
Mahabhārata (BORI) III 281 58
Sircar, D C, *Select Inscriptions* p 386
For a detailed study of this problem vide, Goyal, S R, 'Were the Maukharis an Off shoot of the Mālavas of the Punjab and Rajasthan', *Proceedings of the Rajasthan History Congress*, Ajmer session, 1972, pp 16 ff
Fleet, *op cit*, p 229
Sircar D C, 'Maukhari Inscription from Jaunpur', *Journal of Indian History*, XLII, pp 127 ff
EI, XIV, pp 115 ff
JAHS, VI, pp 17 ff
Cf *JIH*, XLIII, pp 733 ff, XLIV, pp 683 ff, *PIHC*, 1965, pp 78 ff
PIHC, 1965, p 79
This was suggested first by R G Basak (*History of Notrh Eastern India*, p 109) D C Sircar gives same translation (*JIH*, XLII, p 130) U N Roy also takes the word *dhārā* in this sense (*Studies in Ancient History and Culture*, pp 67 ff) without making any reference to either Basak or Sircar Recently, V C Pandey has translated the passage thus "the sparks of fire issuing (from the hooves) of horses of manifold speed and gate" (*PIHC*, I, 1973, p 339) and has connected it with some military action taken by or against the Sūlikas

13 The author of this paper locates the Mālava-janapada of the Later Guptas in Rajasthan Vide 'Rajasthan the Original Home of the Later Guptas', *Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress*, Ajmer, 1975, pp 24 32

14 Fleet, *op cit*, p 205

15 *Ibid*,

16 Sircar, *JIH*, XLII, p 129 Cf also *Select Inscriptions*, p 388, fn 1

17 Fleet, *op cit*, p 148

18 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p 419, n 3

19 Sharma, D, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp 2526

IAHASAMUND PLATES OF VARAJA YEAR 3

Balchandra Jain

plates published here are at present ıı S S Pujarı, Addıtıonal Tahsıldar samund Tahsıl of the Raıpuı dıstrıct ıya Pradesh They are saıd to have ırchased by hım from a smıth of arı ın the same dıstrıct The plates o me through Shrı S S Yadav, ıng Officer (Archaeology) of Raıpur, nınatıon and study They are edıted th the kınd peımıssıon of both ers mentıoned above

charter consısts of three rectangular plates, each measurıng 9 cm ın and 7 5 cm ın heıght These plates l together by a copper rıng passıng a squaıe hole of about 1 cm ın the of the plates at a dıstance of about om the left sıde A bronze seal ıs to the copper-rıng The seal ıs ın shape and measures 7 5 cm ın Unfortunately, the figure and the n the seal have been damaged due illed cleanıng The seal shows Lakshmī standıng, facıng fıont, on anked by elephants pourıng water , to the left and rıght sıdes are a ınd a *śankha* In the lower half of l ıs the legend ın two lınes and the representatıon of a *kumbha* whıch lear

The weıght of the three plates ıs 692 gms and that of the ııng and seal ıs 505 gms The total weıght of the plates wıth rıng and seal ıs 1197 gms

There are ın all 28 lınes of wııtıng on the three plates The outer sıde of the first plate ıs blank, whıle that sıde of the thırd has only two lınes of wrıtıng The ınner sıde of the first plate and the first sıde of the second plate have seven lınes each as agaınst the second sıde of the second plate and the first sıde of the thırd plate contaınıng sıx lınes each

The plates are smooth, theır edges are neıther thıckened noı raısed to gıve protectıon to the wrıtıng The record ıs ın a very good state of pıeservatıon It ıs neatly wrıtten and caıefully engraved The characteıs are of the box-headed varıety of the Brāhmī scrıpt of the fifth century A D The average sıze of the letters, whıch are well-formed, ıs about 1 cm Medıal *au* ıs trıpartıte, medıal *ı* ıs denoted by a semıcıı cle and addıng of a dot makes ıt *ī*, the final form of *t* occurs ın lınes 20 and 22 As regards orthography, the consonants followıng *r* are doubled ın some cases as ın *chaturvvēda* ın lıne 11 and *dharmma* ın lıne 15, *ṛı* ıs denoted by *rı* as ın *dhıkrıta* ın lıne 26, the wııter has used *s* for *ś* and *sh*, and *ṭ* for *ṭh* ın some cases.

Tāmbra is written for *tāmra* and *singha* for *simha* in lines 11 and 28 respectively

The *language* of the record is Sanskrit Except the benedictory and the imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose

The charter was issued from Śrīpura, by the king Sudēvarāja, son of Durgarāja, described as a *paramabhāgavata*, on the ninth day of the month of Kārttika in the third year of his reign and records the royal grant of the village Khalapadraka situated in the *bhoga* of Dakari to a *chaturvēdin* Brāhmaṇa, Mādhavasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya *śākhā* for the merits of his parents and himself The donated village was made free from all taxes It was granted with all its *nidhis* and *upanidhis*, not to be transgressed by regular and irregular troops The residents of the village were asked to pay the *bhōga* and the *bhāga* to the donee accordingly

The inscription was engraved on the plates by Gōlasimha described as an *akshaśālika* (keeper of the records) who is also known to have engraved the Kauvatal[1] plates of this king and the Thakurdia[2] and the Mallar[3] plates of Pravararāja

It is noteworthy that the donation was made to a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* which does not find mention in any other record of this family Similarly, the record gives interesting information regarding the habitation of the *chaturvēdin* Brāhmanas in South Kōsala in the fifth century A D

The name of *mahāsāmanta* Indrabalarāja, the Chief Minister (*sarvādhikārādhikrita*) of king Sudēvarāja, is mentioned in line 26, but unlike in the Kauvatal plates, he is not styled as a *dūtaka* in the present record The legend on the seal attached to the plates does not mention the name of the father of the donor-king nor his *kula*

Eight records (including the present one) of King Sudēvarāja have come to light so far out of which two are known to have been issued from Śrīpura and five from Śarabhapura, one record is incomplete The seals of the Kharíar and Arang plates inform that he was the son of Mānamātra and grandson of Prasanna (or Prasannamātra as known from coins) The present plates and the Kauvatal plates state that his father's name was Durgarāja Hence, it was suggested by scholars that Mānamātra and Durgarāja are identical[4] King Mānamātra had a second son named Pravararāja known from the Thakurdiya[5] and Mallar[6] plates of the latter while the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja clearly state that Pravara was a son of Jaya Because the plates of the king Vyāghrarāja, younger brother of Pravara, were issued from Prasannapura, this Jaya is identifiable with Jayarāja, son of Prasanna and issuer of four sets of copper plates discovered from Arang, Amgura and Mallar He is further identifiable with Mānamātra *alias* Durgarāja, father of Sudēvarāja and Pravararāja The genealogy of the family can be tabulated as below

1 Śarabha
2 Narēndra
3 Prasanna or Prasannamātra
4 Jayarāja or Mānamātra Durgarāja

5 Sudēvarāja | 6 Pravararāja | Vyāghrarāja

The family was ruling from Śarabhapura, ura and Prasannapura The name of the ly was Amarārya-kula as mentioned in Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja Possibly queen of Bharatabala[8] was born in this ly (Āmaraja-kula-jā)

Mahāsāmanta Indrabalarāja, the *sarvā-ıādhikrita* of king Sudēvarāja has been tified with Pānduvamśī Indrabala, dfather of Tīvararāja known from his three charters issued from Śrīpura[9]

Of the geographical names mentioned in this inscription, Śrīpura is modern Sirpur in the Mahasamund tahsil of the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh The location of the Dakarī *bhōga* could not be determined[10] Khalapadraka may be identified with modern Khalari in the Raipur district The place was known as Khalvātikā or Khalavātikā in the 14th-15th century A D[11]

Text[12]

Seal

1 Kram-ādhigata-rājyasya vikram-ōtkhāta-vidvishah[|*]
2 Śrīmat-[Sudēva]rājasya [sthiram jagati śāsanam (nam) [||]

First Plate

1 Ōm[13] svasti [|*] Śrīpurād-vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chu(chū)ḍāmaṇi-pra-
2 bhā-prasēk-āmva(mbu)-dhauta-pāda-yugalō ripu vilāsinī-sīma[m*]t-ō[d*]dhara-
3 na-hētur-vvasu-vasudhā gō-prada[h*] parama-bhāgavatō mātā-pitri-pād-ā
4 nuddhyātah śrī-Mahā-Durgarājah(ja)-putra-śrī Mahā[14]-Sudēvarāja[h*]
5 Ḍakarī-bhōgi(gī)ya Khalapadrakē prativāsinas= samājñāpa-
6 yati viditam = astu vō yath = āsmābhir =ayam grāma[h*]Tri (Tri)dasa(śa)pati-
7 sadana-sukha-pratishṭā(ṭhā)karō yāvad =ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-

Second Plate First side

8 pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāram jagad = avatishṭa(shṭha)tē tāvad = upabhōgyaḥ

9 sa-nidhi[s*] = s = ōpanidhir = a-chāta bhaṭa-prāvēśya[s*] = sarvva-kara-visarjji-

10 ta[h*] mātā-pitrōi = ātmanaś = cha puny-ābhivṛiddhayē Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtra

11 Vājasanēyi-Mādhava - chaturvvēda - svāminē tāmbra(mra)-śāsanē-

12 n = ātisri(sri)shthah(shṭah) [I*]tē yū[15]yam = ēvam = upalabhya a(ā)jñā śravana-vidhēya(yā)

13 bhūtvā yath-ōcha(chi)tam bhōga-bhāgam = upanayamta[h*] sukham prati-vats[y*]atha [I*]

14 bhavishya[16]taś = cha bhūmipālān = anudarśayati [I*] Dānād = viśishtam = anupā-

Second Plate Second Side

15 lanaja[m] pura(rā)ṇā dharmmēsu(shu) niśchita-dhiya[h*] pravadanti dharmmam (?)mam) [I*] tasmā[d*] = dvijā-

16 ya suvisu(śu)dha(ddha)-kula-śrutāya datā(ttām) bhuva(vam) bhavatu vō matir = ēva gō-

17 stu(ptum) [II 1*] Tad = bhavadbhir = apy = eśā(shā) dattir = anupālayitavyāh(vyā) [I*] Vyāsa-gīta (tām)-

18 ś = ch = ātra ślō[kā]n = udāharanti [II*] Agnēr = apatyam prathamam su-

19 varnna[m*] bhūr = vvaishnavī sūryya-sutāś = cha gāva[h*I] dattās = trayas = tēna

20 bhavanti lōka(kā) yah = kāñchana[m*] gāñ = cha mahīñ = cha dadyāt II[2*]

Third Plate First Side

21 [Sha]shtim varsha-sahasra(srā)ni svargē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] āchchhē-

22 ttā chchā(ch = ā)numantā chcha(cha) to(tā)ny = ēva narakē vasēt II[3*] Bahubhir = vvasu-

23 dhā dattā rājabhis = Sagar-ādibhih [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = ta-

24 sya tasya tadā phalam (lam) [II 4*] Svadattām paradattām = vā yatnād = raksha yu-

25 dhishṭhira [I*] mahī[m*] mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāch = chhrēy = ōnupālanam(m II [5*] i)ti II

26 Sarvva(rvvā)dhikārādhikṛita-śrī-mahā sāmanta-Indrarāja II

Third Plate Second Side

27 Pa(Pra)varddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē samvatsara(rē) 3 Kārttika dina 9

28 śāśa(sa)nam = utkīrṇṇam akkaśālika Gōlasinghēna II

EI, XXXI, pp 314 16

Ibid, XXII, pp 15-23

Ibid, XXXIV, pp 53-54

Ibid XXXI, p 315

Ibid, XXII, pp 15 ff

JOIH, XXXIV, pp 216 ff, *EI*, XXXIV, pp 53-54

EI, XXXIV, pp 47 ff

Bamhani plates (*EI*, XXVII, pp 132 ff, *CII*, V, pp 82 ff) Mallar Plates (*Bhāratīya Purābhilēkha Patrikā*, III, pp 183-192), one copper plate containing the incomplete charter of the family of Bharatabala is in possession of Shri CL Pande of Mallar

Bonda, Rajim and Baloda plates

The name of the *Bhōga* mentioned in the Kauvatal plates is written on an erasure It was read as Hakiri, but the correct name may be Ḍakari as in the present charter

Khalari stone inscription of Hari-Brahmadēva, VS 1470 (*CII*, IV, pp 575 ff)

From original plates and photograph

Expressed by symbol

The reading in the original is *Mā* which has to be corrected to *Ma* —[AMS]

The reading in the original is *yu* —[AMS]

The reading in the original is *sya* —[AMS]

15 NOTE ON THE INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

G S Gai

In the August issue of the Marāthī Journal 'Navabhārata', Mm Dr V V Mirashi has published an article entitled 'Fresh Light on Gupta History' based on the recent discovery of a single copper-plate of the Vākāṭaka dynasty by Dr Nagu, Indore It has been shown that this single plate forms the first plate of the incomplete set of the Indore plates[1] of Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II dated in his 23rd regnal year This first plate supplies the early portion of the Vākāṭaka genealogy describing Pravarasēna I and Bhavanāga, the chief of the Bhāraśivas, and states that the grant was issued from the camp at Tripurī (*Tripuri-vāsakāt*) which is identified with modern Tewar situated at a distance of 6 miles from Jabalpur, th headquarters of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh From the other plates of the set we learn that the object of the inscription was to record the grant of a village (possibly *Viśākhāryavātaka*) to certain Brāhmaṇas residing at Ārāmaka and, while describing the boundaries of the gift-village, the places Gēpūraka, Ārāmaka, Kōbidāraka, Kōśambaka and Añjanavāṭaka are mentioned Of these, Dr Mirashi has identified two places, viz Kōśambaka and Añjanavāṭaka with modern Kōsamba which is situated 6 miles to the south of Tirōdī in the Bālāghāṭ District of Madhya Pradesh[2] and Añjanwādī, 5 miles to the south-east of Kōsamba respectively So Pravarasēna II, while camping at Tripurī or Tewar, which was located to the north of Narmadā an which was not included in his territory, mad the gift of a village which was situated in h own territory in Vidarbha Dr Mirasl states that this gift was made by Pravarasēn II when he had invaded the territory of h enemy and when he was camping there aft conquering it He further states that th Vākātakas and the Guptas rose to pow about the same time and while the empire the Guptas was to the north of Narmad that of the Vākātakas was to the south that river The two families were on friend terms in the beginning and had even estal lished matrimonial relationship in th Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta I was married to Vākāṭaka Rudrasēna II Bu towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta (c 414-455 A D), son of Chandragupta I there was estrangement between the tw families and Pravarasēna II (c 420 50 A D invaded the Gupta territory in the Dāha or Chēdi region, north of Narmadā, an after registering a victory over him, issue the present Indore plates in his 23rd regn year i e, in *circa* 443 A D And, in order t support his view that the authority of Pravar sēna II extended to the north of Narmad Dr Mirashi refers to the two stone inscrip tions,[3] found at Nāchnē-kī-Talāī and Gañ north of Narmadā in Madhya Pradesh, whic refer to Vyāghradēva, a subordinate Vākātaka Pṛithivīshēṇa II (c 470-90 A D

of Narēndrasēna and grandson of varasēna II The Bālāghāt plates[4] of thıvīshēna also state that the commands of rēndrasēna were honoured by the rulers of salā, Mēkalā and Mālava So, accordıng Dr Mırashı, all the three kıngs of the ⟨ātaka dynasty, vız Pravarasēna II, rēndrasēna and Pṛithıvīshēna II ınvaded Gupta terrıtory to the north of the madā and establıshed theıı authoııty over ıe part of ıt And he states that a veıled rence to thıs conflict ıs to be found ın the tarī stone pıllar ınscııptıon[5] of Skanda-ıta whıch has the ıollowıng two verses as d by Fleet -

Vıchalıta kula-lakshmī stambhanāy=
ōdyatēna

kshıtı-tala-śayanīyē yēna nītās=tıı yāmā।
samudıta bala - kōshā[n-Pushya]mıtıāmś
= cha jıtvā

kshıtıpa-charana-pīṭhē sthāpıtō vāma-
pādah ॥

Pıtarı dıvam=upētē vıplutām vanśa-
lakshmīm

bhuja-bala-vıjıt-ārır=yyah pratıshthāpya
bhūyah।

jıtam=ıtı parıtōshān=mātaram sāsra-
nēttrām

hata rıpur=ıva Krıshnō Dēvakīm=
abhyupētah ॥

In addıtıon to these two verses, there ıs hırd verse (partly preserved) ın the same ord whıch refers to the conflict and evı-ıtly the defeat of the Hūnas by Skanda-ıta and whıch reads as follows -

Hūnaır = yyasya samāgatasya samarē
dōrbhyām dharā kampıtā

bhīm - āvartta-karasya śatrushu

Dr Mırashı states that the above three verses refer to three vıctoııes achıeved by Skandagupta In the first verse he pıefers the readıng *yuddhy=amıtıāmś=cha jıvtā* suggested by Dr H R Dıvekar[6] ın place of *Pushyamıtıāmś = cha jıvtā* read by Fleet And, accordıng to hım, thıs verse states that, when Skandagupta trıed to restoıe the fallen fortunes of hıs famıly, he had to spend a whole nıght lyıng on the baıe gıound but ultımately he conquered the enemıes who had poweı and wealth and placed hıs left foot on the foot-stool ın the foım of the heads of the enemy kıngs The second verse states that when hıs (ı e, Skandagupta's) fatheı had dıed, he ıe-establıshed the ıuıned fortunes of hıs lıneage by conquerıng the enemıes wıth the strength of hıs aıms and ın ordeı to convey thıs news of vıctoıy, he went to see hıs mother who was ın tears just as Krıshna, when he had slaın hıs enemy (ı e Kamsa) betook hımself to see hıs mother Dēvakī Sınce thıs verse refeıs to the death of hıs father, ı e, Kumāragupta I, Dr Mırashı thınks that the event descrıbed ın the first verse must have taken place earlıer, ı e, towaıds the end of Kumāragupta's reıgn, whıle thıs second verse descrıbes about Skandagupta's obtaınıng the kıngdom after hıs fatheı's death The thırd verse, whıch ıs badly damaged, refers to Skandagupta's conflıct wıth the Hūnas

Posıng the questıon as to who the enemy mentıoned ın the first veıse could be Dı Mırashı says that the present plates of Pravarasēna II provıde the answer, sınce, as

stated by him, this Pravarasēna had invaded the Gupta territory north of Narmadā towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I and while his military camp was fixed at Tripurī or Tewar, he issued the present grant Thus, according to him the discovery of the present single plate at Indore, forming the first plate of the set of Pravarasēna II, throws valuable light on Gupta-Vākāṭaka history

We are sorry that it is not possible to agree with Dr Mirashi's view mentioned above, either with regard to his interpretation of the expression *Tripurī-vāsakāt* found in the newly discovered plate or with his interpretation of the two verses from the Bhitarī stone pillar inscription referred to by him to support his view Let us examine the same

In the first place, the mere fact that the grant of Pravarasēna II was issued when he was staying at Tripurī or modern Tewar to the north of the Narmadā is not enough to say that he had conquered that region from the Gupta king Kumāragupta I and that they were on inimical terms at the time of the grant There is absolutely no evidence either in any records of Kumāragupta I or of Pravarasēna II to indicate that there was rivalry between them On the other hand, the Vākāṭakas were on extremely good terms with the Guptas from the time of Samudragupta till at least the end of the reign of Kumarāgupta I, though they enjoyed some sort of subordinate position under the Guptas Even the records[7] of Prithivīshēna II, grandson of Pravarasēna II, show that it was Narēndrasēna (son of Pravarasēna II) and Prithivīshēna II who occupied some territory to the north of the Narmadā belonging to the Guptas and exercised their authority in that region and they do not attribute a victory to Pravarasēna II in that area, mu less against Kumāragupta I as thought of Dr Mirashi And none of the records Pravarasēna II himself mentions about conquests Therefore, we have to infer fr the expression *Tripurī-vāsakāt* that Prava sēna II had gone to Tripurī which was ancient and holy place of pilgrimage, pointed out by Dr Mirashi himself, which was located in the territory of relative Kumāragupta I and, while stay there, issued the present grant registering gift of a village in his own territory T view is strengthened by lines 11 and 12 of grant which state, according to Dr Mira that the grant was made at the victori place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dhar sthānē*)[8] Hence his view that Pravarasēn invaded and conquered the territory Kumāragupta I to the north of the Narm comprising Dāhaḷa or Chēdī and, while military camp was at Tripurī, he issued present grant, is not tenable Had it bee military camp in the enemy's territory expression like *vijaya - skandhāvārē, j skandhāvarē*, or *vijaya katakē*, would l been used instead of *dharma-sthānē* In very example given by Dr Mirashi from Karhāḍ plates[9] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇ to support his view, the expression used *Mēlpāṭī - samāvāsita - śrīmad-vijaya-katal mayā* which shows that Mēlpāṭi was a i tary camp (*vijaya kataka*) unlike Tri which was *vijaya - dharma - sthana* In Taḷegaon plates[10] of Rāshtrakūṭa Krishi who was camping at Manne after inva the Ganga territory, the expression use *Gāngānām =upari vijaya-skandhāvārē Ma nagarē* Therefore, the expression *Trip vāsakāt* used in the present Indore plate

ravarasēna II does not mean that he conquered the territory of the Guptas The onquest of Gupta territory north of the Narmadā must have taken place only after ravarasēna II, i e during the period of Narēndrasēna and Prithivīshēna II as evidenced by the records of the latter

Secondly, Dr Mirashi's interpretation of the two verses from the Bhitarī stone illar inscription of Skandagupta quoted by m to support his view is also not acceptable ccording to the late Dr D R Bhandarkar,[11] e first two verses mentioned above from e Bhitarī inscription refer to one and the me event or victory of Skandagupta and his cending the royal throne after subduing the emies, who, among others, included the ūnas who formed a formidable force as entioned in the third verse quoted above r Bhandarkar has dispelled the notion held some scholars that the reign of Kumāraipta I ended in disaster The misfortune ertook the family only after his death as early stated in the second verse (*pitari vam=upētē*) and not during his lifetime e has shown that this disaster must have ken place during the brief rule of Ghatōtchagupta who succeeded Kumāragupta I the throne and who seems to have met ith his death in the battle fought with the emies including the Hūnas And, in this ttle, his younger brother Skandagupta who d to flee and even sleep on bare ground for me nights fought bravely on behalf of his other and ultimately achieved victory esides the Hūnas, one of the principal emy of Skandagupta appears to have been near relative of his on his mother's side, ssibly a Nāga ruler of importance who volted against the imperial rulers on the death of Kumāragupta I If the comparison of Skandagupta and his mother to Krishna and Dēvakī given in the second verse quoted above has any meaning at all, the enemy who had arisen against the Gupta power after the death of Kumāragupta I and made it totter to its foundations must have been some relative of Skandagupta through his mother, possibly her brother Since the expression *amitrāṁś=cha* used in the first verse is in plural, this enemy seems to have invited the Hūṇas to help him in his attempt But who could this relative of Skandagupta be? In this connection Dr Bhandarkar invites our attention to a stanza in the Junāgaḍh inscription of this Skandagupta in which it is stated that "he forged an order with an effigy, viz Garuḍa, which rendered devoid of poison the Serpent (*bhujaga*) Rulers" (*bhujagānām māna darpōtphanānāṁ pratikriti-Garud-ājñāṁ nirvvishim ch = āvakarttā*) As *bhujaga* is synomyous with *nāga*, both meaning 'serpent' and as royal Nāga families were in existence during the Gupta period and as Garuḍa was an insignia of the Gupta dynasty, one comes to the irresistible conclusion that there was a rebellion set up by the Nāga rulers which was quelled by Skandagupta We know that one of the queens of Chandragupta II was Kubēra-Nāgā of the Nāga family and similarly the queen of Kumāragupta I might have been a Nāga princess whose brother might have revolted after the death of Kumāragupta I This would explain why Skandagupta is stated to have impressed his Garuda signet on the *bhujaga* rulers or Nāgas and also to have gone to his mother who was in tears just as Krishna repaired to his mother Dēvakī after slaying his enemy, i e , Kamsa Thus Skandagupta ascended the throne after re-establishing

the fortunes of his family which had fallen when his elder brother succeeded Kumāragupta I It may also be pointed out that the last line of the first verse quoted above, viz *kshitipa-charana pīthē sthāpitō vāma-pādah* has to be interpreted, following Dr Bhandarkar, as 'his (i e Skandagupta's) left foot was placed on the royal-stool', i e, he occupied the throne and rested his left foot on the foot-stool which forms an integral part of the throne This differs from Fleet's interpretation which is followed by Dr Mirashi So this verse also refers to Skandagupta's obtaining the sovereignty as in the case of the second verse quoted above

From the above discussion, it would clear that there is nothing in the inscriptic of Skandagupta to show about the tragic e of Kumāragupta I, that the Gupta pov was tottering after his death only wh Ghatōtkachagupta came to the throne a that the fortunes of the family were resto by Skandagupta And, therefore, it is i possible to agree with Dr Mirashi's vi that the first verse quoted above from Bhitarī inscription refers to the event wh took place during the reign of Kumāragup and that the enemy referred to therein ' Pravarasēna II

Foot Notes -

1 *CII*, V, pp 38 ff and plate IX
2 Kōśambaka seems to be the same as Kōśāmba mentioned in the Tirōḍi plates of Pravarasēna II (i pp 48 ff)
3 *Ibid*, pp 89 ff
4 *Ibid*, pp 79 ff
5 *Ibid*, III, 1888, pp 52 ff and plate VII
6 *An Bhand Or Res Inst*, Vol I, pp 99 ff
7 *CII*, V, pp 79 ff,, *ibid* pp 89 ff Dr Mirashi's suggestion about a veiled reference to the auth of Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna in the Bamhanī plates of Bharatabala (*ibid*, pp 82 ff) is no longer ter in view of the recently discovered Malhar plates of Śūrabala (*Journ Ep Soc*, Vol III, pp 18 wherein the expression *narēndra* clearly refers to king Udīrṇṇavaira which was another name of Śūra and not to Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna
8 *CII* V, p 38
9 *EI*, IV, pp 278 ff
10 *Ibid*, XIII, pp 275 ff
11 Dr Bhandarkar's views are expressed in the forthcoming revised volume of Gupta Inscriptions e jointly by Dr B Ch Chhabra and myself

16 A KANNADA HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION IN MADRAS CITY

Madhav N Katti

The hero-stone inscription was discovered by me in the Kalakshetra Campus, Adyar within the Madras city[1] The hero-stone itself is a dressed, sculptured and inscribed sandstone slab measuring about 2 5 m in height, 1 m in width and 0 10 m in thickness The slab contains three panels one below the other, the first from the top bearing the inscription and the second which is larger containing the sculptured scene The third which is undressed is meant to be burried under ground as it presently is The inscribed portion occupies a space of about 1 m x 0 20 m

At the first instance, I would place below the descriptive particulars of the sculpture as it provides a rare specimen The hero in whose memory the stone was set up is portrayed standing with a bow in his left hand, his right hand holding a dagger tied to his waist His legs indicate firmness The face wearing moustach and beard has a majestic appearance The hair of the head is tied into a knot The quiver with arrows is tied to his right shoulder from behind There is a cross strap on the chest The body is bare except for a tight lower garment which is the regular pattern of the period The figure, on the whole, appears to be that of a very dynamic and strong person Enemy's arrows are also shown piercing his body, head, left arm, etc , indicating that the hero resisted much before he collapsed There are seven more figures sculptured on the same panel along with the hero and the entire scene is very impressive and of a rare type From bottom upwards, near the hero's right leg, an animal (ox) is shown with the mouth open as if crying on the death of its master There are two more animals (oxen) one to the right side above the animal first mentioned and one near his left knee Evidently, this depicts that the hero died after rescuing the cattle, in a cattle-raid

In between his two legs, near the feet there is a kneeling figure with a downcast face It is not clear if it is of a female If it is of a female, it is possible that it represents the wife of the hero who must have committed *sati* after the death of her husband It could also be of his attendant, if it is male This type of portrayal is unique and probably is the first of its type amongst the hero-stones discovered so far Near the left foot, there is one more figure, probably of a male, indicating the servant of the hero who also must have died after the death of his master Innumerable inscriptions provide evidence of the fact that in a number of cases the servants also died after the death of their masters Near the shoulder on both sides, there are two figures (apparently male) The figure on the right side has a *chauri* in its right hand The figure on the left side has its left hand no more preserved, which probably also held a *chauri* The entire sculptured panel is

portrayed extremely well and provides a very rare example of the hero-stone sculptures of the period By its features it can be assigned to a period from the latter half of the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century [2]

The inscription contains three lines of writing in Kannada characters and language and can by itself be assigned to the same period [3]

The record states that yara, son of Sandeyasetti, described as *palarodeganda* died in a cattle-raid at Poriayamgāḍu which was situated in Kannada[m]baḷḷi, after reaching Kottaḷi (*Kottali mutti*) The fight must have taken place in the Poriyamgāḍu area within the juristiction of Kannadambaḷḷi and the hero must have continued his fight till he reached Kottaḷi, where he must have collapsed after much resistance

As the hero is described as *palarodeganda* (*palar-ode ganda*)[3] he must have been a person of considerable importance, a leader and probably a local administrator Kannaḍambaḷḷi was evidently a settlement of the Kannaḍa speaking people, in the Tamil country and has come to light for the first time through this record It can be identified with the present day Kannada-haḷḷi (also called Kannada-paḷḷi) in Krishnagiri Taluk, Dharmapuri District [4] Poriyam-gāḍu must have been a foresty area near the village Kannada-halli, as suggested by the term *kādu* (in *Poriyam-gādu*), and must have been situated within the jurisdiction of the latter There could have been a village by this name but its identity is uncertain Kottaḷi must have been a hamlet in the vicinity of Kannaḍa-haḷḷi in the same District[5] It may be recalled that the inscribed slab was collected from Dharmapuri District and set up in its present place (in the Kalakshetra campus) The area comprising North Arcot, Salem and Dharmapuri Districts has yielded several Kannada inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers and their feudatories who had their sway over this area, during this period

Text

1 Svasti[!*]Srī [6] yara Sandeya-seṭṭiya ma[gan']ⁱ[7]

2 Kannaḍa[m]ba[ḷ]ḷiya Poriyamgāḍo[ḷ] tu[ru*]go[lo][ḷ*]

3 satta Palarode-ganda Kottaḷi mutti[8]

Foot Notes

1 I am thankful to Shri Menon, Director, Kalakshetra, Adyar, Madras

2 The letters can be compared with Māvaḷi inscription of the Rāchchaya-Kadambā and a number of inscriptions of the period of Rāshṭrakūta Kṛishṇa III, vide *EI*, Vol XXXVII, p 336

3 In this word *ode* may denote the same meaning as *odeya*

4 *Alphabeticalist of villages*, Govt of Madras 1972, p 227

5 Though it is not found in the *Alphabetical List of Villages* or cannot be located in the available maps, the representatives of the Dharmapuri District, who attended the conference, reported about the existance of the village Kottaḷam near Kannada haḷḷi in the same District, which could be the village Kottaḷi mentioned in the record

6 The first part of the word is damaged and the letters could be read as *Cheṭṭi* or *Beji*, Thus the name could be Cheṭṭiyara or Bejiyara

7 The entire expression could also be split as' *yarasan Deja seṭṭiyamagan*,' in which case the name of the father of the hero could be Deya(Dēya)-seṭṭi also

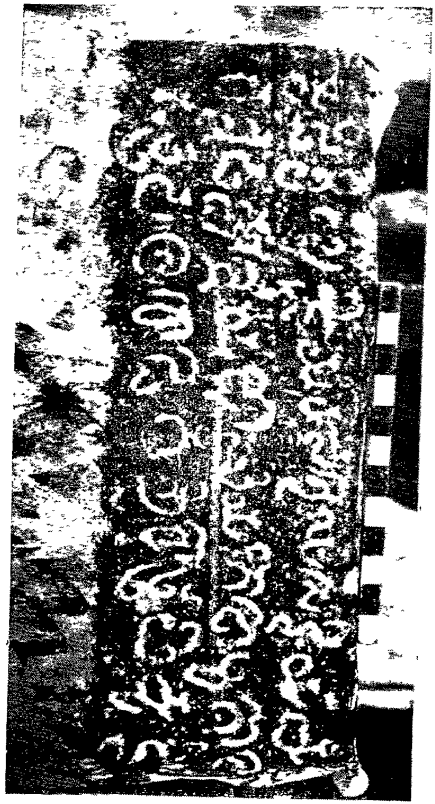
8 Drs G S Gai, K V Ramesh, S H Ritti and Shri K R Srinivasan offered some very useful suggestions, while the paper was presented, for which I am thankful to them

A HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION FROM MADRAS CITY



(FULL SLAB)

A HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION FROM MADRAS CITY



(INSCRIBED PORTION)

THE REGNAL YEAR

N Sethuraman

A king ascends the throne He rules ome years A few years before his death noints either his son or his brother or a relative (normally his sister's son) heir-ment The heir-apparent is called the n prince or *yuvarāja* When the senior dies, the *yuvarāja* becomes the monarch ie kingdom He too follows his predecessor. This system was practised by the h Indian kings like the Pallavas, lukyas, Chōlas, Pāndyas, Hoysalas and Vijayanagara kings

The inscriptions belonging to these kings ish valuable information regarding their is. Some of the inscriptions contain the or cyclic years, astronomical data, etc inscriptions of the Pallavas, Chālukyas, ḷas, Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas furnish egnal years also With the help of the nomical data, the equivalent Christian of the respective inscription can be d. If the regnal year is given, then we ict the same from the date of the inscrip- and determine the accession year of the

The Hindu kings followed the Indian ndar system based on the position of the ets like Sun, Moon, Earth and the Star method of converting the astronomical into equivalent Christian date was first loyed by the German scholars like Warr- Kielhorn, Hultzsch and Jacobi This was r followed by Robert Sewell and Swamikannu Pillai In the year 1922 Swamikannu Pillai published the Indian Ephemeris which is a valuable book to find the equivalent Christian dates from 1st century A D to 2000 A D

The earlier scholars consulted the Ephemeris and found the dates of the inscriptions With the help of the regnal years, mentioned in the records, they fixed the accession year of the king For the purpose of calculating the date of the inscriptions, they followed the Indian calendar system However, to fix the *accession date*, the scholars followed the Christian calendar system in which one year is equal to 365 days The scholars thought that the length of one ruling year was equal to that of a Christian calendar year or one solar year On this basis the accession dates of the Chōḷa and Pāndya king and of the kings of other dynasties were worked out and published

Later discoveries of inscriptions prove that the Hindu kings did not follow the Christian year or the solar year for the purpose of calculating their *regnal years* The Hindu king counted his regnal year on the basis of his accession star For example, suppose a king ascends the throne on 1st January, 1001 A D As per the Christian calendar system or the solar year (as employed by earlier scholars) the king's second year begins on 1st January, 1002 A D Hindu kings did not follow this method

On the day of 1st January 1001, star *Uttiraṭṭādi* was current in the *śuklapaksha* of the Tamil month Tai. As per the Indian calendar system, the king's second regnal year must begin in the next year from the date on which the same star Uttiraṭṭādi is current in the śukla-paksha of the Tamil month Tai. The date falls on 20th January, 1002 A.D. Thus instead of 365 days, the first year of his reign contains 384 days. Similarly his third year begins on 9th January, 1003 A.D. and thus the second year of his reign contains 354 days only. Hindu kings followed this system in which one regnal year contained approximately 354 to 384 days depending upon the occurrence of the accession star in the respective years. Following examples support this theory.

Kielhorn determined the accession date of Kulōttungachōḷa between the 14th March and the 8th October, 1070.[2] In all his calculations, he applied the Christian calendar system or the solar year for necessary deductions to fix the accession date of the king. Let us see some examples of the later discoveries of inscriptions.

1) An inscription[3] from Srirangam which belongs to this king is dated 352nd day of his 41st regnal year. The astronomical data as worked out in the *AREp* correspond to 6th June, 1111 A.D.

Year 41, day 352=6th June, 1111 A.D.
Therefore Year 41, day 1=20th June, 1110 A.D.
Therefore Year 1, day 1=20th June, 1070 A.D.

As per the Christian calendar system, 20th June 1070 is the first day of the first year which is the accessson date of the king.

2) The Pennaḍam[4] inscription belongs to the king's 29th year, day 382 corresponding to 18th June, 1099 A.D.

Year 29, day 382=18th June, 1099 A.D.
Therefore Year 29, day 1=2nd June, 1098 A.D.
Therefore Year 1, day 1=2nd June, 1070 A.D.

If we apply the Christian calendar sysrem then the second case furnishes 2nd June 1070 A.D. as the accession date of the king. But the first case supplies 20th June 1070 A.D. Thus there is discrepancy. This proves that, for necessary deductions, the Christian calendar system or the solar year must not be employed. Now, let us apply the Indian calendar system.

As per the Srirangam inscription
Year 41, day 352=6th June, 1111 A.D.
Therefore Year 41 day 1—20th June, 1110 A.D.

ves that his 41st year started from e 1110 On this date star Pushya ent in the Tamil month of Āṇi It hat the first day of the 41st year nds to the occurrence of star Pushya onth of Āṇi of 1110 Similarly the of the first year must correspond to rence of star Pushya in the month of 1070 The data fall on 13th June, ch is the correct accession date of

per the Pennadam inscription, the first is 29th year falls on 2nd June 1098 date star Punarvasu ended and star started Star Punarvasu was also on the previous day i e, 1st June ōttunga counts the beginning of his r from the next day i e, the 2nd ly on which date Punarvasu ended Pushya commenced This proves 29th regnal year starts from the star Pushya which was current in the month of Āṇi

Year 29, day 1 = Star Pushya in the month of Āṇi of 1098 Therefore Year 1 day 1 = Star Pushya in the month of Āṇi of 1070 The latter data fall on 13th June, 1070 which is the accession date Both records confirm that 13th June, 1070 was the accession date of Kulōtungachōḷa I and Pushya was his accession star The records prove that the Indian calendar system alone must be employed to fix the accession date of a Hindu king

We will also see another example related to the accession date of Rājendrachōla I Kielhorn fixed the accession date of this king between the 27th March and the 7th July 1012[6] With the help of the later discoveries of inscriptions we can find out his exact accession date Eṇṇāyiram inscription[7] belongs to the king's 30th year, 27th day The *AREp* equated the data of this record to 25th June, 1041 Accordingly

Year 30, day 27 = 25th June, 1041

Therefore Year 30, day 1 = 30th May, 1041

Therefore Year 1, day 1—30th May, 1012

e apply the Christian calendar system, then the first day of the first year falls on ay, 1012 which must be the accession date

other inscription[8] from Eṇṇāyiram itself belongs to year 25, day 112 The *AREp* the data to 16th September, 1036 Accordingly

Year 25, 112=16th September, 1036

Therefore Year 25, day 1=28th May, 1036

Therefore Year 1, day 1=28th may, 1012

per the previous record, the king's accession date falls on 30th May, 1012 the second record supplies 28th May of the same year Thus there is discrepancy in proves that the Christian calendar system or the solar year is not useful to find ssion date Now let us apply the Indian cadendar system As per the former record

Year 30, day 27=25th June, 1041

Therefore Year 30, day 1=30 th May, 1041

30th May of 1041 belongs to the month of Āṇi on which date star Rōhiṇi ends and Mṛigaśirā begins Therefore, the first day of 30th year is equal to the ending of Rōhiṇi and the beginning of Mṛigaśirā in the month Āṇi of 1041 Similarly the first day of the first year is equal to the ending of Rōhiṇī and the beginning of Mṛigaśirā in the month Āṇi of 1012 The data fall on 19th June, 1012 which is the accession date of the king As per the latter record

Year 25, day 112 = 16th September, 1036

Therefore Year 25, day 1 = 28th May, 1036

In the year 1036, May 28th belongs to the month of Āṇi and on that date star Rōhiṇī ends and Mṛigaśirā begins Similarly the ending of Rōhiṇī and the beginning of Mṛigaśirā in the month Āṇi of 1012 is the first day of the first year which corresponds to 19th June 1012, the accession date of the king This agrees with the previous case

In both the cases star Rōhiṇī was current even on the previous day of the respective first day But Rājēndrachōḷa counts only from the junction of Rōhiṇī and Mṛigaśirā This proves that the accession star of Rājēndrachōḷa was Mṛigaśirā only This can also be verified with the aid of another inscription

An inscription from Kāḷahasti belongs to Rājēndrachōḷa's regnal year 23 and day 4 The other data are star Pushya and Thursday From this record we come to know that the 4th day of his 23rd year was a Thursday on which date star Pushya was current His 23rd year must begin in the month Āṇi of 1034 and also from a day in which the ending of Rōhiṇī and the beginning of Mṛigaśirā must occur It occurred in the early morning of Monday the 17th June, 1034 which was the first day of the 23rd year The fourth day was Thursday the 20th June on which date star Pushya was current This agrees with the Kāḷahasti record In all the above cases we are supplied with the following details

a) The regnal year and the day of the record,

b) Astronomical data

These are straight cases where we are able to find out the first day of the first year i e, the accession date Here the day of the record in the respective regnal year helped us to find the accession date of the king In the cases where we do not have the day of the regnal year we have to make necessary deductions in such a way so that we can get the shortest interval in which the accession date occurs For example let us take the case of Kulōttunga II

Robert Sewell fixed the accession date of Kulōttunga II between the 26th March and the 14th July, 1133 [10] Swamikannu Pillai surmised that Kulōttunga's reign commenced between the 9th May and the 17th August[11] Robert Sewell and Swamikannu Pillai applied the Christian calendar system for necessary deductions Let us revise the accession date in the light of the later discoveries of inscriptions, applying the Indian calendar system

The Bāpaṭla inscription[12] belongs to this king's 11th year The data are Śaka year 1065, Āshāḍha Amāvāsya, Wednesday Robert Sewell equated this data to 14th July, 1143 The data are given as per the Telugu calendar system i e, lunar system Accordingly Āshāḍha Amāvāsya in Telugu is equal to the New

of Tamıl month Āḍı New Moon ın nth Āḍı of 1143 belongs to the kıng's ear Therefore, Āḍı New Moon of , equal to the 1st year and ıt falls on ıly 1133

The Thırukkodıkāval ınscrıptıon[13] s to Kulōttunga II and ıs dated ın the u, Kaıkataka ba 7, Monday and Aśvaequivalent date as ıepoıted by *AREp* ly agıees with 5th July, 1140 The staı occuııed afteı Mıthuna New Moon, Kaıkaṭaka apıra paksha Accordingly ın Kaıkataka apaıa paksha of 1133 be ın the 0th ıegnal year As per ıeııs Mıthuna ended and Karkataka ıııced on 26 15 June of 1133 Aśvatı urrent upto 26 57 Therefore 26th June equıvalent date

26-6 1133=0th ıegn ıl yeaı
4-7-1133=1st regnal year

Kulōttunga chola II ... between the 27th June ... A D both days inclusive

The above example ... kings followed the occurrence ... ssion star to count their regnal ...

In my book *The Cholas* ... shed, I have reconstructed the ... the Chōla kings on the basis of the ... dar system The reconstruction ... to identify the Chōḷa-Pāndya ... Rājādhirāja II etc For more ... above book may be referred

Notes –

Even today the Hindu families adopt this system to celebrate the birth day when the occurrence of the natal star is counted to calculate the age of a person In the case of the death day the *tithi* is followed instead of the star

- *EI*, IX, p 218
3 *ARIp*, 1947 48, No 108
4 *Ibid* 1928 29 No 234
5 *Ibid*, 1947-48 p 3 confirms this
6 *EI*, IX p 217
7 *AREp* 1917, No 341
8 *Ibid*, No 335
9 *SII*, XVII, No 326
10 *EI*, X p 138
11 *Ibid*, XI, p 291
12 *Ibid*, X p 137
13 *ARLp*, 1930 31, No 61

18 NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM KANHERI

Shobhana Gokhale

Kanheri is approximately 10 kms to the east of Borivali, the suburb of metropolitan Bombay There are nearly 100 Buddhist caves The architecture and inscriptions therein have contributed very interesting information about the Buddhist activities in western India Here was a great Buddhist establishment and the new inscriptions which have come to light prove that Kanheri was an important seat of learning It is for the first time that we get nearly about fifteen names of teachers in whose memory the commemorative *stūpas* were erected At Kanheri there is a large cemetary cave where there is a large number of *stūpas* in dilapidated conditions This large cemetary cave is facing west-ward Due to heavy rains the front portion of the cave is seriously damged Palaeographically these Brāhmī inscriptions may be dated between 550 A D and 700 A D As regards the palaeography of these inscriptions, it is worth noting that *a* is written in the latter southern variety with the right vertical with angular bend Medial *i* is shown by a ring Medial *u* is also ornamental The letter *jha* is shown with an angular stem, *na* is of the looped southern variety The medial *ē* is indicated with its upper curve extended.

In 1975, when I visited Kanheri, I observed that a large number of well-cut slabs was lying in the valley in front of the cemetary I, therefore, suggested to the care-taker of the caves Mr V M Vani to explore the valley with a view to *discover* new inscriptions and surprisingly, it was found that the efforts of Mr Vani were fruitful and nearly 15 new inscriptionr of historical value have came to light

The inscriptions commemorate the famous teachers of Kanheri Out of fifteen inscriptions, only six or seven could be read satisfactorily They not only throw light on the ancient Buddhist monastic institution but it is for the first time that we get evidence for the teachers' tradition in Western Indian caves Western India is honey-combed by caves but so far we had got only five names of teachers, three from Kuda,[1] one from Kondane, one from Karle It is noteworthy that the Kuda inscription mentions one female teacher *Pavajitā* Padumanikā She was the sister's daughter of *Thēra Bhadanta* Sātimita, and *Bhadanta* Agimita

Four of the newly discovered Kanheri inscriptions are taken up here for discussion.

I

At Kanheri one inscription records that *Thēra* Ārya Vijayasēna was a *Tēvija*. The inscription is as follows

Thērāṇam Ā[r]yya-Vijaya-
sēṇāṇam tēvijāṇaṃ
arahamtāṇam thūbha ॥

[In] the Brahmanic tradition a Brahmin [who is] well-versed in two Vēdas is named as [Dvivēd]i and a Brahmin who knows three [Vēdas] is called as a *Trivēdi*, and a *Chaturvēdi* [Brahm]in is an expert in four Vēdas. In [Budd]histic tradition, a monk who has attained [three k]nowledges is named as *Tēvijja* (Vinaya [...] 6). One of the Junnar inscriptions [re]fers to a *Tēvijja*.

[A]ccording to *Vinaya* Text, the following [are the] six knowledges

Iddhi = levitation

The heavenly Ear

Knowing others' thought (thought-reading)

Recollecting one's previous births

Knowing other people's rebirths

Certainty of emancipation already attained

[A]ccording to *Anguttara Nikāya*[2] a monk [who k]nows his former three births is called a [Tēvijja]

II

[A]nother inscription which is broken [reads] as follows

(la)ṇam

[ara]hantānam jhāyinam thūbham॥

[A]ccording to Buddhist philosophy [Jhāna] never means vaguely meditation. It [is a] technical term for a special religious [experie]nce reached in a certain order of mental states. It may be described as *Pañchāngika Jñāna*

1) *Vitarka*, 2) *Vichāra*, 3) *Priti* 4) *Sukha*, 5) *Ēkāgratā*

III

The third inscription records that one monk was not only an *Ārya*, *Mahān* and *Arhat* but he was well-versed in *Shadabhijñāna* and *Pratisambhidā*. The inscription reads as

1 Thērāṇam Āyya Mahāṇam ara-
2 hantāṇam chhaḷabhiññāṇam pati-
3 [sam]bhida - pāttānam thūbham

Shadabhijñāna, as discussed above, is of six kinds

The *Dhammapada* describes that a monk achieves the final emancipation not only by six knowledges but also by seeing *Jātikkhaya*. Freedom from a sore constitutes Arhatship (26 41 423)

The same monk is not only well-versed in six knowledges but he has been described as *Patisambhidapātta*, i e, one who has attained four kinds of *Patisambhida*[3]. There are four kinds of *Patisambhida* *1) Athapatisambhidā* (analysis of meaning), *2) Dhammapatisambhidā* (reasoning of text) *3) Nirutti patisambhidā* (interpretation of religious texts), *4) Pratibhāna patisambhidā* (illumination)

These are the four powers of penetration into the hearts of people and could be achieved by *Arhats* only

IV

The fourth inscription reads as follows

1 Thēranām Bhadanta Dāmā-
2 ṇam aṇāgāminam thūbha

The inscriptions thus provide the earliest and unique evidence in the history of Buddhism in western India The words *Silabhijñāna*, *Patisambhidā*, *Jhāyī* and *Anāgamin* indicate the establishment of a great teachers tradition at Kanheri The Jain tradition[5] of teachers from the Mathura Inscriptions is too well known to be discussed here but here is for the first time that we get a reference to the teachers' tradition in western India The teachers were great scholars in different branches of Buddhist studies and a noteworthy feature is that all the teachers are having the honorific title *Arhat*

There is a reference to different Buddhist sects like *Aparavamseliya* and *Bhadrayaniya*, in western Indian caves The inscriptions at Kanheri record the construction of *chaitya*, *vihāra*, paths, *podhi* doors, etc Some of them have been donated by ordinary people of different occupations such as traders, goldsmiths and even blacksmiths, etc But there was so far no reference to teachers' tradition

Palaeographically the inscriptions may be dated between 550 A D and 700 A D It is worth examining the causes for the upheaval of Buddhism in this particular period

The majority of the inscriptions of Kanheri belong to 2nd 3rd century A D A few of them are of the 5th century A D and a small number of inscriptions belong to a later period These new inscriptions suggest that Buddhism might have received the royal patronage to continue its religious activities and it might be due to the eclectic spirit of the early Rāshtrakūtas

The Kanheri inscription of Pullaśakti who was a feudatory of Amōghavarsha I records a donation to the Buddhist *Vihāra* at Kanheri, a part of which was utilized for purchasing books This fact indicates the continuity of educational tradition at Kanheri and therefore we get names of teachers of high religious rank in Buddhist hierarchy

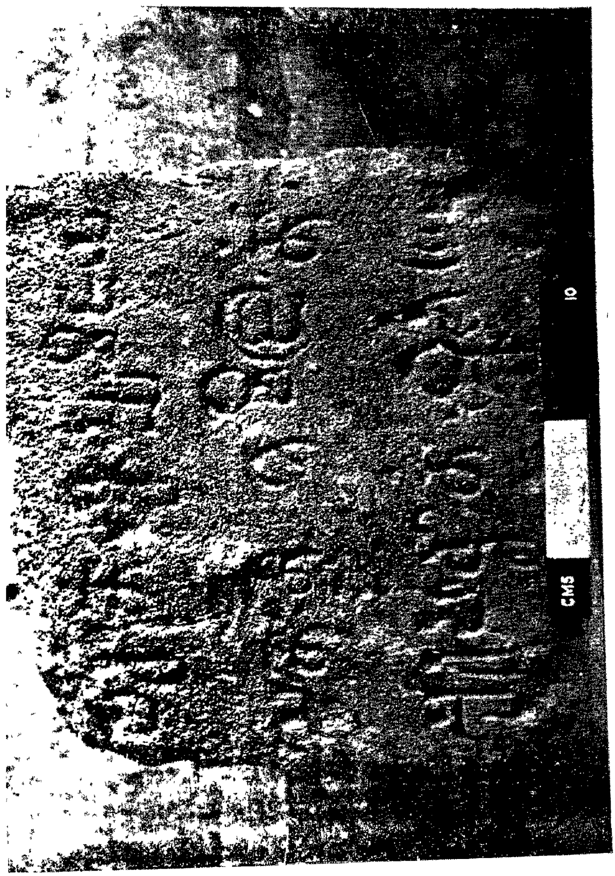
Foot Notes

1 *Luders List*, Nos 1060, 1045, 1065, 1041

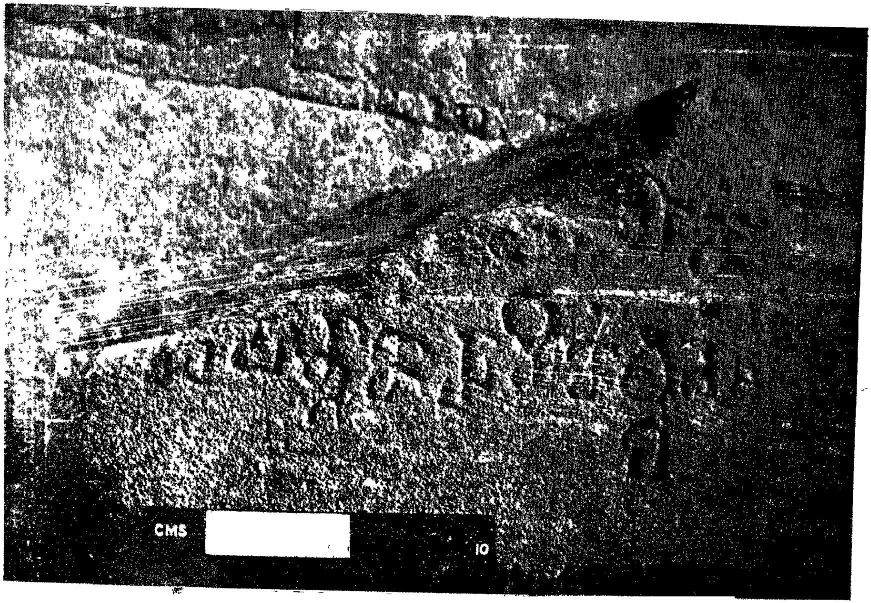
2 *Anguttara Nikāya* Pali Edition, Nalanda (1958), P 184

3 Davids, T S R S , *Pali English Dictionary* According to Buddhist philosophy, the word *anāgāmin* denotes the attainment of Arhatship and is the third of the four different stages to be undergone by a *bhikshu* It is believed that a *bhikshu* who attains the stage of *anāgāmin* will merit Arhatship in one of the highest heavens and will be freed from rebirth as a human being

4 *EI* , I, p 371 , *Ibid* , II, p 192


10
CMS

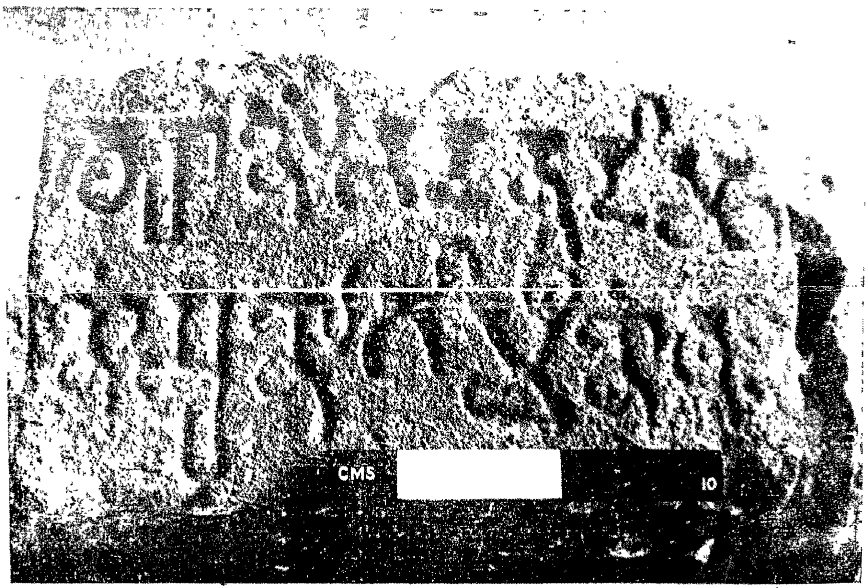
INSCRIPTIONS FROM KANHERI - No II



[illegible] FROM KANHERI NO. III



INSCRIPTIONS FROM KANHERI - No IV



GARHI MATANI INSCRIPTION KANISHKA (I)

B N Mukherjee

Kharoshthī[1] epigraph, inscribed on k of stone, was found sometime back ıound at Garhı Matanı, 13 miles east ıpbellpur (Pakistan) Prof A H Danı ıorted to have studied this record tograph of this epigraph and some ation about ıt were kindly supplied present author by Prof A L Basham now being edited with the help of hotograph

ıe language of this epigraph is North-n Prakrit in which are written the majority of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions north-western part of the Indian tinent The palaeography of the script e favourably compared with that of anikıala inscription of the year 18[2] ırity seems to be the most important of the style of writing betrayed by ɔcription in question

ıe inscription consists of three lines, can be read as follows :-

Sam 20 Maharayosa (should be Maharayasa) Rayatirayasa Deva-putrasa Kaṇishkasa

Jeṭhamasa divase prathame Butha-varumasa shamanasa Bosavala-pu-

3 trasa Majilakasa Kimaṇosha-putrasa Rovimasa [dānamukhe? ?]

The above text may be translated as follows -

'Year 20, of the Great King, King of Kings, Son of God, Kanishka, on the first day of the month of Jyeshtha (May June), (this is the main gift ?) of monk Buddhavaima (?), Bosavala's son Majilaka, and Kimanosha's son Rovima

The object of the inscription is not clearly stated It might have, as indicated above by us, recorded some gift of merit

The epigraph attributes full imperial titles to Kanishka The record, dated on the first of Jyeshṭha of the year 20, is the first known Kharoshthī inscription referring to Kanishka dated in that year There is a Brāhmī record dated in the same year of his reign Moreover, Kanishka (I) is already known to have reigned for at least 23 years Hence the information furnished by our epigraph does not by itself add anything to our knowledge about the duration of the period of his reign Never-theless its date, First Jyestha of the year 20, may be of some interest if it is compared

with the date of the Kamra inscription referring to the rule of Vāsishka This inscription is dated on the 13th of Jyeshtha of the same year (i e, year 20 of the era of Kanishka) Thus in the year 20 Kanishka (I) had a co-ruler in Vāsishka[3]

Foot Notes

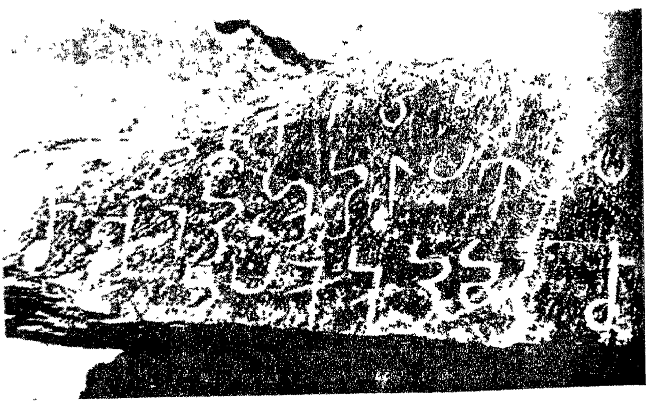
1 Macron over e and o is not used in this article

2 S Konow, *CII*, II, pt I, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Asoka*, pl XXVII, no 1

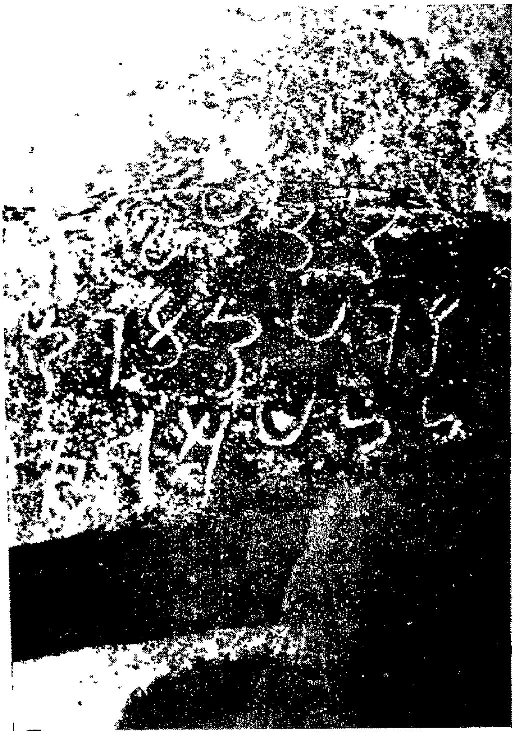
3 B N Mukherjee, "Kamra Inscription of Vajheshka (Vāsishka)", *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1973, vol VIII, no 2, pp 114f

GARHI MATANI INSCRIPTION
PARTS II and III





GARHI MATANI INSCRIPTION
PART I



PHULBANI COPPER PLATE GRANT OF RANABHANJADEVA, YEAR-9

Smt S Tripathy

is set of three thick, oblong copper plates iscovered while digging earth at the Harēkrishnapur in the district of Phul- The Headmaster of the Gopabandhu School at the said village handed over ate to the Orissa State Museum for vation, through the District Welfare , Phulbāni The text of the Inscription n in the Inscriptions of Orissa, vol vi, contains the Bhañja inscriptions led by me

he measurement of the first and second are 17cm x 10cm each The third plate nparatively smaller in size and measures x 10cm The three plates are held to- by a copper ring to which a royal seal ring 4 5cm is soldered The diameter ring is 8cm The oval shaped seal the emblem of a crescent moon, a cou- bull and between these two emblems gend is written as *Śrī Ranabhañjadēva-* There are altogether 60 lines of writing plates which are distributed as follows st plate is inscribed on the inner side containing 14 lines, the second plate has s on each side, the third plate, first side, es and the second side, 9 lines of writing riting on the whole is neatly carved clear and there are a number of mis- due both to the composer and the engraver The legend on the seal is well preserved

The script used in the plates belongs to the eastern variety of the N Indian alphabet and similar to those of the other records of the donor Śrī Ranabhañjadēva of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala [1] The language is incorrect Sanskrit, written partly in verse and partly in prose. The intro- ductory portion of the inscription is in verse These verses are also found in the other grants of the donor and also in his predece- ssor's charter The fashion of quoting verses from the introduction of one's predecessor's charter became conventional in the Bhañja family The most interesting point in regard to its palaeography is the confusion between the medial sign of *u* and *ū*, *ī* and *i* which is characteristic of not only the record under notice but also of practically all Orissan inscriptions of the mediaeval period The form of medial *u* is written in many places of the plates for medial *ū* Similar is the case with medial *ī* and *i* There is no distinction between *b* and *v* *Tah* occurs for final *t* in lines 6 and 24 and *ta* for *t* in lines 10 and 14 Final *t* occurs in line 51 We find two different foms of *ā*, one by a small stroke on the right side of the alphabet, e g *sammāna dānānan- dita* (L 16) and also by a full stroke parallel to the alphabet e g , *Saṁhārakāla* (L 1)

In point of Orthography the inscription closely resembles the Orissa Museum plates of the same donor[2] *Kritānta* (L 1), *Chitāmghri* (L 5) and *kritam* (L 39) are written as *Kritānta*, *Chitāghri* and [illegible] Similarly *s[illegible]mbhānta* has been written as *sambhā[illegible]* (L 1), *vamśa* as *vanśa* (L 16), *vichī* as *viji* (L 24), *Tāmra* as *Tāmvra* (L 31), *Navamē* as *Namamē* (L 58) and *utkirnna* as *utkirna* (L 58). There are some errors such as *kshī* for *ksha* (L 3), *śi* for *si* (L 6), *si* for *śi* (L 9), *tta* for final *t* (L 13) *ta* for *tta* (L 16), *śrī* for *śri* (L 56). *Anusvāra* has been written for final *n* in line 10. *Visarga* is used many times wrong.[1]

The date of the issue of the grant is given in the regnal year of the king Ranabhañjadēva as *Vijayarājyē Samvatsarē Namamē*.

The inscription opens with an invocation to Hara and then describes the genealogy of the Bhañja kings who ruled from their capital at Dhritipura. It records the grant of a village named Kōkaṭi, situated in Tulasidga *Vishaya* on the bank of the river Amvāda comprised in Khiñjali-mandala. The village was grantad by Rānaka Ranabhañja to a Brāhmana named Bhattaputra Dāmuni Ghōsha son of A[?]ghōsha and grandson of Tōsāvēna Ghōsha. The donee belonged to Bārhaspatya *gōtra* (?) and Panchārshēya *Pravara* and is said to have migrated from Barendrimandala. He resided at first in Pundravardhana and became a resident of *Drōnālapundara*. The grant was made in the ninth regnal year of the king Ranabhañja. It was inscribed by the goldsmith and merchant Jayanāga, son of Pāṇḍi, and sealed with the royal seal. The occasion of the grant was Vishuva *samkrānti*. Another charter of the donor's 9th regnal year was issued on the occasion of Sōma-grahaṇa (Lunar eclipse) which has been wrongly interpreted by the authors as Samagrēṇa[3].

There are altogether 13 copper plate charters issued from Dhritipura so far discovered. Out of these, eleven including the present charter were issued by Raṇabhañja. During his 9th regnal year he granted three copper plates including the present one. It is interesting to note that these grants were engraved by three different engravers who belonged to one and the same family. Their genealogy may be drawn as follows —

Gōnā or Gōnāka (Akshaśālin)
|
Pāndi
|
Śivanāga — Jayanāga — Padmanābha

Śivanāga, who might be the eldest son of Pāndi, engraved an undated grant of Śatrubhañja, the father of the donor of the present charter and the grants of Ranabhañja's 16th, 22nd, 24th and 26th regnal years. There was another goldsmith named Dēvala who engraved the grant issued in the 58th regnal year of Ranabhañja and whose genealogy is

nown He was also the engraver of the er issued by Ranabhañja's father bhañja in his 15th regnal year Gōnā rōnāka, the *Akshaśālin*, who was the r of Pāndi also served Śatrubhañja engraved the Baud grant of Rana- ja which was issued in his 54th regnal

he genealogical list of the royal family oned in this grant is the same as in records of the donor We get the ing genealogy —

Śrī Śilābhañja
Śrī Śatrubhañja
Rānaka Śrī Ranabhañja

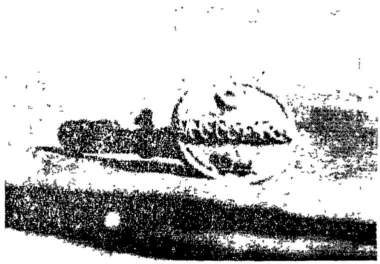
anabhañja used the title of Rānaka is 28th regnal year After his 28th reg- ar we do not find any records or other ce of his rule till his 54th regnal year [8] indicates that there was some sort itical trouble from outside his kingdom these years Probably he was busy in g with some neighbouring kings and mavamśis who were then extending ingdom towards Baud-Sonepur regions s also to some extent successful in his le and extended his kingdom which is l by the fact that he used the royal title *hārāja* and declared himself a sovereign wo grants issued in 54th and the 58th years His last grant was issued in th regnal year which shows that he atleast for 58-years His kingdom sed the Baud-Sonepur and Daspalla , of Orissa as known from his ins- ns The charters of his family are all red from these regions He has been ed as Ubhaya-Khiñjalyadhipati, the lord of Ubhaya-Khiñjali which has been inter- preted by scholars as the northern and southern banks of the river Mahānadī

The chronology of the Bhañjas of Khiñ- jali-maṇḍala still remains a subject of great controversy and the date of the Bhañjas who ruled from Dhritipura has not yet been deter- mined properly Records of two kings of this branch of the dynasty are so far known to us It seems probable that this branch was wiped out from the Baud-Sonepur region by the Somavamśis within a century

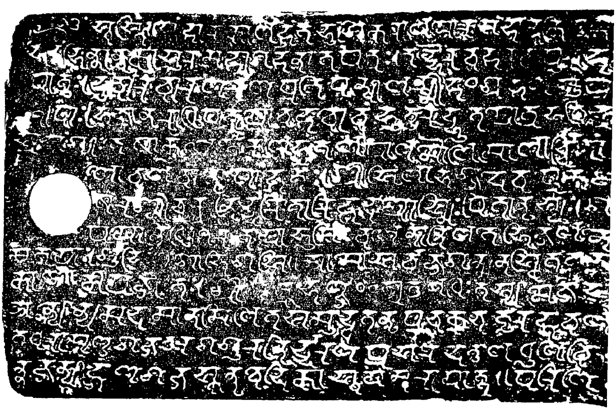
There are some peculiarities regarding the religious leanings of Ranabhañja Originally the Bhañjas were Śaivites The earlier records of the Bhañjas contain the invocation of Śiva and the rulers assumed the religious title of *Paramamāhēśvara* But the Bhañja rulers of Khiñjali - mandala embraced Vaishnavism although the traditional invocation to Śiva in their records continued Ranabhañja has used both religious titles of *Paramāmahēśvara* and *Paramavaishnava* in his charters The pecul- iarity is that he changed his faith from Śaivism to Vaishnavism and reversed to the faith of his forefathers who were Śaivites, at the end In two of his grants issued in his 9th regnal year he has been described as *Paramamāhē- śvara*, while the present grant issued in the same year reveals that he embraced Vaishṇa- vism during this year Towards the close of his reign, that is in his 54th and 58th years, he was again *Paramamāhēśvara* But he has used the conventional invocatory verses in praise of Śiva-Natarāja in all of his grants The rulers of Khiñjali-mandala, who ruled from Dhritipura, had the same invocatory ver- ses in praise of Śiva-Natarāja except one by Śatrubhañja, father of Raṇabhañja, who was a *Paramavaishnava* Although he embraced

PHULBANI COPPER PLATE GRANT OF RANABHANJADEVA - YEAR 9

SEAL



FIRST PLATE INNER SIDE



avısm he used the conventıonal ınvoc. rses ın praıse of Śıva ın hıs other grant these kıngs were not antagonıstıc to avısm oı Śaıvısm and patronızed all the ıs sects prevalent durıng that period were also hıghly respected by both elıgıous communıtıes So they dıd e up these conventıonal verses ın theır ents even aftei they embraced Vaısh- ı

ıe rıver Amvāda mentıoned ın thıs ıns- n cannot be ıdentıfied correctly as ıere seems to be no rıver of thıs name at present ın the dıstrıcts of Bolangıı or Baud-Phulbānı The othei place names mentıoned ın thıs charter are Tullasıdga *Vıshaya* and Kōkatı *Grāma* Tullasıdga or Tullaśrınga has been mentıoned as a *vıshaya* ın other charters of Raṇabhañja He granted atleast three vıllages wıthın thıs *vıshaya* Thıs may be ıdentıfied wıth Tutursıngā ın the Baud P S of the Dıstrıct of Phulbānı There ıs a vıllage called Kulukoṭı ın Phırıngıā P S near Baud whıch may be ıdentıfied wıth Kōkatı *grāma* of our ınscrıptıon I edıt the plates below from the orıgınal

Text

Fırst Plate Inner Sıde

1 Ōm[4] svastı ॥ Samhāra-kāla-hutabhug-vıkarāla-ghōra - sambhā(mbhrā)nta - kınkara-krı(krı)tānta-

2 [nıtānta*]-bhınnam(nnam) । bhınn-Āndhak-āsura-mahā - gahan-ātapatrah(m) ।[5] tad = bhaırava[m*] Hara vapurabha (ı = bha)vatah ।[6] pra-

3 pātuh[6] । Durvāra-vāran-rana-pratıpakshı(ksha)-[paksha]-lākshmı hatha - grahana-suprasrıta pra-

4 tāpāh Bha[ñ ']jā - narādhıpatayō va(ba)havō va(ba)bhu(bhū)vur = udbhu(dbhū) tayō(yē)=tra bhuvı bhu(bhū)rı saha-

5 sra-samkhyāh [।*] Teshā[m] kulē sakala - bhu(bhū)tala-pāla - mauli- mal-ārchchıt-āmghrı(nghrı)-yuga-

6 lō va(ba)lavā[n*] = nrıpō = bhūtah(bhūt) Śrī-Sı (Śı)lābhañjadēva[h*] prakata-pauru-

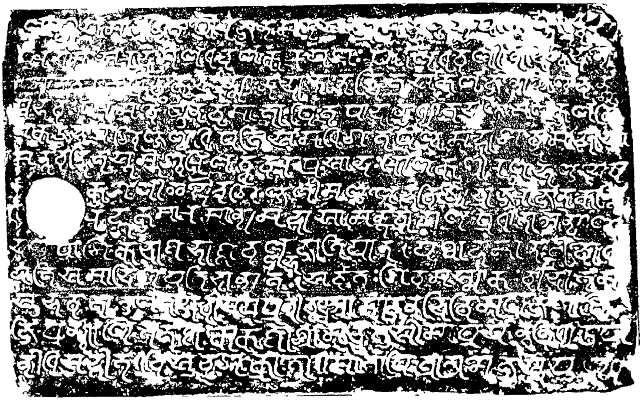
7 sha-raśmı(śmı)-chakra - nırdda(ıddā)rıt-ārı - hrıdayō=smıh(sya) pıtā nır[pa*]syah[7] । Gāmbhı(bhī)ryēna

8 payōnıdhıh [s*]thıratavā bhu(bhū)mıh va(ba)lēn = ānıla[h*] tē[jō*]bhı[r*] =ja(jva) lanō = pamā sa-

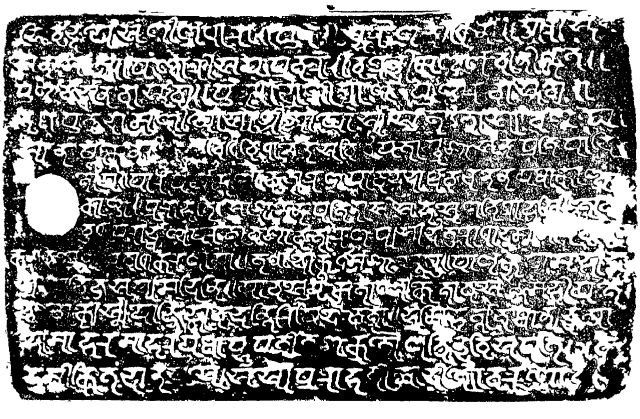
9 matayāh ।[5] śubhrı (bhraı) r = yaśōbhı[h] śası(śī) ॥ (।) ātmā sarva-jagan-mana[h*-] sthıtatayā datt-a(ā)va-

10. kāśō vī(vı)ya[j*]-jātah ।[5] Śrī-Śatrubhañja ıty = atula - dhīh tasy = ātmaja[h*] Sva (Śa)mbhuvata(t)।[।*]

SECOND PLATE FIRST SIDE



SECOND PLATE SECOND SIDE



11 Anyōnya - mada - māna - mılıta - samuddhata nrıpa - chakra - chaturanga - va(ba)la-kshōbha-chalı-

12 ta-dhaıā-manda[la[7]]-gaja tuıaga khura-nıdda(rddā)ıana-pıasaıad-atula - dhu(dhū)lı-vıtām[8] na-samchcha-

13 nna-jany-āngana-gaja-skandha-vēdıkā-svayamvaı-āyātta ॥[5] parını(nī)ta-jaya-

Second Plate First Side

14 lakshmī - samānandıta - paura - jana-ma(mā)nasah śrīmad-Bhañja - bhu(bhū)patıh [।* purād = Dhṛıtı-

15 pura-nāmnah [॥*] Sa(Śa)rad-amala-dhavala-kara - yaśah patala-dhavalī(lı)ta - dıg-vadanō(na)-

16 h ।[5] Anavarata-pıavrıt[t[1]]a-sammāna - dān-ānandıta-sakala-jano(nah) Andaja-vanśā (mśa)-

17 prabhavah Parama-Vaıshnana[9]va(vō) mātā-pıtrı - pādānudhvāta[h*] Bhañj-āmala-kula-

18 tılaka[h*] Ubhaya - Khıñjaly - adhıpatı[h*] samadhıgata - pañcha - mahā śavda(bdō)

19 māhasāmanta - vandıta Stambhēśvarī - lavdha (bdha) - vara - prasādah ।[5] Rāṇaka-Śrī-Ranabhañjadēva[h*]

20 kuśalī [।*] Ih = aıva Khıñjalı-mandalē bhavıshyad-rāja-rāja(jā)nak ānta-

21 ıanga - kumāra(rā)mātya - mahāsāmanta - vrā(brā)hmana - pradhānā[n*] - anyānś (mś) = cha

22 daṇḍapāśıka - chāta-bhaṭta(ta) - vallabha - jātīyānah(n) ।[5] yath-ā[r*]ham mānaya[10]-tī(tı) vō(bō) dha-

23 yatı samādıśayatı(śatı) ch = ānyatah ।[5] sarvatah śıvam - asmākamh[6] vī(vı)dī(dı)-tam = a-

24 stu bhavatāh(tam) [।*] Tulasıdga - vısa(sha)ya - pratī(tı)va(ba)ddha Amvāda - nadı (dī)-vımala-jala-vı (vī)-

25 jı (chı)-prakshālıta-taṭa-Kōkaṭı-grāma[ś = *] chcha (cha)atu[ḥ*] sīmā - pra(par)yantah nıdhya upa-[11]

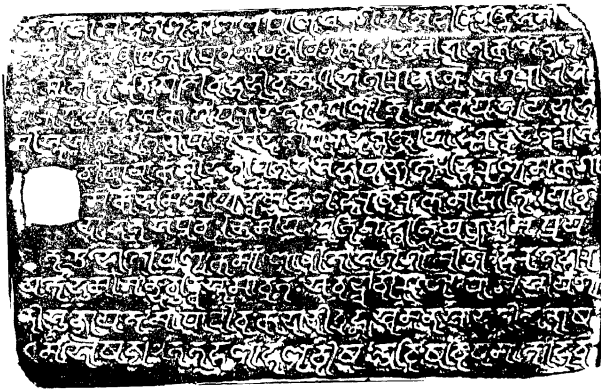
26 nī(nı)dhı - sahī(hı)tam(tah) ॥[5] Vısuvaśamkrātō[12] ॥[5] mātā - pıtrā atmōjasva[13]puny ā-

Second Plate Second side

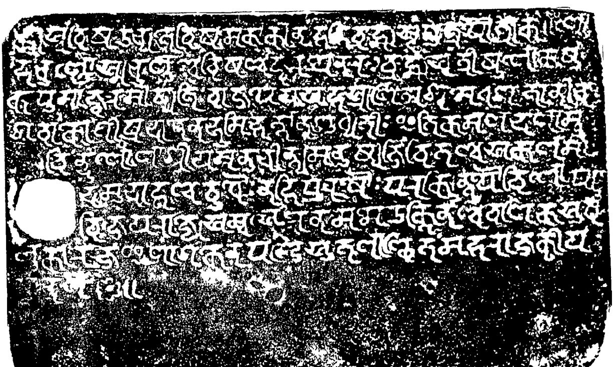
27 bhıva(vṛı)ddhayē salī(lı)la-dhārā ॥[5] pura ॥[5] ssarēṇa vī(vı)dhınā ॥ Vārīspa-

28 tyēnagotra[14] ॥[5] Pamñchārısaya-pravara[15] ॥[5] Varēndrī - maṇḍala-vī(vı)nī(nı)rggata-

THIRD PLATE FIRST SIDE



THIRD PLATE SECOND SIDE



29 Punda(ṇdra)varddhana - vāstavya(vyā)[ya*] ‖[6] puna[h] ‖[5] Dıōnıālapundaıa-vāstavya (vyā)[ya*]‖[5]

30 Bhata(tta)-putra-Dāmunıghōshı Śıī A[?] ghosha-suto ?o ?vēn ıghō-

31 sha-naptı ıktēna[16] ‖[5] vıdhı-vıdhānēna savıdhēya[m] ?nıvı a(mı ı)-śās ına[m]pı atıpādı-

32 to=ya[m] ‖ Pāramparya kul-āvatāıēna yāvad = Vēd ārtha-v?chanēna yathā Kāndā [t] =

33 kāndā[t] ‖[5] prarōhatı(ntı) ‖[5] sā(śā)sanēna pa(pıa)tı(ta)nā(nō)sı(shı) sahasrēna vırōhası ‖ tāva-

34 [d]=va(bu)dhā (dhvā) parārddhañ=cha parato(tah) vamś āvatāıēṇ = āpy = asmad= attarōdhād[17] = dhaımma-gauıavāch = cha na

35 kēnachıt =srıṇy = apı[18] vā(bā)dhā karanīyā ‖ Tathā ch = ōktam dhaıma-śāstrēshu ı Pālamkrıshtā[19] mahīm da-

36 dyāt = sa – vı(bī)jam sa(śa)sya - mēdını(nī)[m] ‖ (ı) Yāvat = sūrya-krıtālōkē tavat = svarggam(ıggē) mahıyatē ı (‖)

37 Vēda-vākyasmayō jıhvā vadantı rı(rı)shı-dēvatāh‖ (ı) Bhu(bhū)mı-harttā tath-ānyach = cha ā-

38 hō mā hara mā haıa [‖] Yath =āpsu patī(tı)ta[m]śakram[8] tau(taı)la-vındu[r]= vısarpatı! ēvam

39 bhu(bhū)mī mı)-krı(krı)tam dāna[m] sa(śa)syē sa(śa)syē pıarōhatī(tı) [‖] Ādıtyō Varunō Vī(Vı)shnu[r] =

Third Plate First Side

40 Vıa(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō)-Hutāśana[h*] Su(Śū)lapānıs= tu bhagavām(vān)= abhınandantı bhu(bhū)mıda[m*][1] (‖)

41 [Ā]sphōṭayantı pıtaıa[h][5] pravalgantı(tı) pıtāmaha(hā)[h][1] Bhu(bhū)mı-dātā kulē jātā(tah)

42 [sa] [nas=]tıātā bhavıshyatī(tı)[‖] Va(Ba)hubhī (bhı)r= vasudhā dā(da)tā(ttā) rājanaı[20] Sagar-ādı(dı)bhı[h [ı]

43 Mā rudaphalasakāya paradattēshu pālıta ı[21] [ı] Yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)-

44 mī(mı)s=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [‖] Sva dattā[m] para-dattām= vā yō harēd= vasundharā[m] [ı]

45 vī(vı)shthāyā[m] krımī(mı)[r]=bhu(bhū)tvā pıtrıbhı[h] saha pachyatēh[6]ı (‖) Hıraṇyam= ēkam gā-

46 m= ēkām bhu(bhū)mı(mē)m(r) = apy = aıddham= angulam[ı] haıa[n = narakam = āyātıh[6] yāva-

47 d = āhuta(bhūta)-samplavah(vam) ı (‖) Bhu(Bhū)mī(mı)[m] yah pıatıgrıhnā(hṇā)tı yach(yaś)= cha bhu(bhū)mım praya-

48 chchhati[।]Ubhō(au) tō(tau) punya-karmānō(ṇau) nī(ni)yatō(tam) sa(sva)rga-gāminōh(nau) [॥] Haratē hāra-

49 yatē bhu(bhū)mī(mi)[m'] manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamāvritah[।*]sa va(ba)ddhau(ddhō) vāruṇaih pāśais= tiryag-yō-

50 nī(ni)su(shu) jāyatēh[6] [।।*] Mā pārthivah[6] kadāchī(chi)[t*] [=tvam] vra(bha)hmā(hma)svam manasā=d= apī (pi) [।*] anō(nau)sha-

51 dham = abhau(bhai)shajyam ētat hālāhalam vī(vi)sham[।।*] Avisham vishamī (m= i)ty=āhu[h*] vra(bra)-

Third Plate Second Side

52 hmasvam visha[m*] uchyatē[।] Visham=ēkākinam hanti vra(bra)hmasvam putra-pautri(tra)ka[m]॥ Lō-

53 ha-chu(chū)rnn-ās(ś)ma-chūrṇnañ=cha vishañ= cha jarayē[n।]= narah [।] Brahmasvam

54 tri(tri)shu lōkēshu ka[h*] pumā[n*] jva(ja)ramī(yi)shyatih[6] [॥*] Vājapēya-sahasrāṇi Aśvamēdha-śatānī(ni) cha[।*]

55 gavāṃ-kōṭī(ṭi) - pradānēna bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na śudhyatih(ti)[।।*] Iti kamala - dal-āmvu-

56 vindu-lōlā[m*]śrī(śri)yam-anuchī(chi)ntya manushya-jī(jī)vitañ =cha[।]sakalam ī(m =i)-

57 dam = udāhri[ta]ñ = cha vu(bu)dhaih(dhvā) na hi purushauh(shaih) para-ki(kī)[r]ttayau(yō) vilau(lō)pyā[h] [।।]

58 Vijaya-rājyē samvatsarē nama(va)mē utki(tkī)rna(rnna)ñ=cha Vanika(k)-suvarnṇa-

59 kāra-Jaiṇāgakēna Pāṇḍi-suta(tēna)[।] lāñchhitam mahārājakīya-

60 mudrēṇa[22]

Foot Notes -

1 Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol xi, pp 152 59
2 *Ibid*
3 Recently a grant of Raṇabhañja's 28th regnal year has been discovered from the village Kankalā in the Phulbāni District and acquired for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar We do not find any new information from the reading of the grant except the grant portion
4 Expressed by a symbol
5 Punctuation is superfluous
6 Delete *Visarga*
7 Do
8 Delete *Anusvāra*

The second letter *na* is superfluous

Ya is inserted below

Read *nidhy upa*

Read *Vishuva-samkrāntyām*

Read *māta-pitrōr= ātmanaś=cha*

Read *Bārhaspatya gōtrāya*

Read *Pañchārsheya pravarāya*

Read *naptre*

Read *asmad= uparōdhād*

Read *kēnachit svalp= api*

Read *Phalakrishṭām*

Read *rājabhih*

Read *bhūd =aphala samkā vah paradatt = ēti Pārthivāh*

After *mudrēna* there is a floral design followed by the two *dandas*

21 THE PALAEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE ARANG COPPER PLATE OF BHIMASENA II

Nisar Ahmad

The Śūras are known only by this copper plate which is one in number and measures 10'" x 4" It is issued by Bhīmasēna II, the sixth king of the dynasty, in 182 Gupta year (501 A D)[1] The plate was found at Ārang which is 22 miles east of Raipur This place also yields the documented relics of the other dynasties The copper plate "contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side The average size of letters is 3/16"[2]

In the opinion of Hiralal, the characters of this epigraph "belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Fleet, may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A D" For the palaeographical peculiarities, he merely writes "The vowel sign for *ī* occurs in *śrī* (line 2) and *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical stroke after the consonant to which it is joined, at other times by a top curve, especially when combined with *sa* or *pa* (lines 2,3,5,10 and 12) Final forms of *ma* occur in lines 6,7 and 11"[3]

Dani groups the Ārang plate of Bhīmasēna II with the inscriptions of the Parivrājakas and the Uchchhakalpas[4] discovered "from the Vindhyan belt, where the series of Khoh copper plates reveal a very similar style of writing[5] These epigraphs have "notches or simple lines'[6] as the head-marks of their characters, the latter characteristic occurs in this epigraph They show the change from the Gupta to the Malwa or Rajasthani style of writing The general palaeographical features of these copper plates marked by Dani are as follows "These inscriptions preserve the simplified style of the medial vowels and do not show the forms associated with the *kutila* writing, though the middle valley forms survive in the open-mouthed *na*, the looped *na*, and the tailed *ma*, and bent right verticals are occasionally seen in" *ga*, *pa* and *ma*[8] As regards the palaeographical characteristics of the Ārang copper plate, Dani is also right in his observation that "*U* curves its base downwards to the left", *Ta* "has a flat top" and '*Sa* has a hook attached to the left"[9]

But the rest of his findings are not conclusive He says that "*Cha* has the pointed beak as well as the broad type" but there is not a single letter which can be called as the real 'broad type' *Da* and *da* do not "have the rounded backs" as he observes and illustrates but infact they are angularized Again we do not notice *ta* of "the Deccani type with a curved hook

ie right of a sloping vertical" him Also his observation of the bulged form is far , it is of the leaf shape

do not agree with Dani that ght notch on the base line" er of surprise is that the which has a notch in its left iply said in the text to have i' but in the plate he illustrates [10] He further writes that '*ya* vith a loop added optionally rtical but the reality is that is almost everywhere and not also points out that "both firm bases with two uprights but optionally their bases are we can add that sometimes anting base Lastly, we do i that "*ya* is triangular with ping' but with further addi- netimes it has firm base and forms a long loop

on for these lapses was that ate was examined along with pper plates bearing similar il characteristics and hence all of the Ārang copper plate d out Moreover, this is d inscription of the locality od "[11] And, therefore, a fresh eographical study is made

els are used in this epigraph d *u* The former is composed s turned outside at the left appended and the left curves by a horizontal bar with the right vertical, the hook at the foot of the right vertical in the middle is medial *ā* (II A 1) For *ū* a hook is added with a slanting stroke (II A 2)

Consonants

Gutturals

Ka has straight vertical and curved horizontal bars pointed downwards (II A 3)

Ga is flat-topped with right limb extended downwards and a foot mark at the left, generally foot-mark is extended on both the sides (II A 4 iii-v) but sometimes more extended either inwards (II A 4 ii) or outwards (II A 4 i)

Palatals

Cha is beaked type However, its three varieties can be noticed (i) both arms join the head mark at one point and beak is formed at the left of the base (II A 5 i), (ii) both arms join separately with head mark with the beak at the left base (II A 5 iii, iv), and (iii) the left arm joins the right arm which touches the head-mark It has a rounded body (II A 5 ii)

Ja constitutes there arms Its lower arm slightly bends down The vertical of *ja* is generally curved (II A 6 i, iii) but also, rarely straight (II A 6 ii)

Linguals

Ṭa has flat top and tick on the right (II A 7) *Ḍa* has an angular back-like formation with its curve open to right and the leg lengthened downwards (II A 8)

Ṇa has open mouth and outer curves extended (II A 9)

Dentals

Ta has two arms with its right arm prolonged Of this at least five varieties

can be marked They are (i) Both arms originating from the head mark with left arm straight and the right arm curved (II A 10 viii), (ii) both arms are curved and originate from the head-mark, (II A 10 i vi), (iii) right arm joins in the upper part of the left arm and they are straight (II A, 10 v), (iv) right arm which is curved joins in the upper part of the left drawn straight (II A 10 iv vii) and (v) right arm joins in the the upper part of the left arm and both the arms are curved (II A 10 ii)

Da has double curves (II A 11 i, ii, iv, v) except in the case of *du* where it has a single curve (II A 11 iii)

Dha is of the leaf shape (II A 12 i, ii)

Na is of the looped variety (II A 13 i-iv)

Labials

Pa is angular with equal arms and flat base [II A 14 i-vi]

Ba is of square type with the left arm notched [II A 15]

Bha is of the angular variety with its double curved left arm and right arm lengthened Here it is used in two shapes [1] right arm starts from head-mark [II A 16 i, iii-vi] and [ii] right arm joins the left limb in the middle of its upper half [II A 16 ii]

Ma has a tail [II A 17 iii-viii] For final *m* a horizontal stroke is added at the top of the right arm of the letter extending towards left [II A 17 ii] and sometimes to the right and left also [II A 17 i]

Semi-Vowels

Ya is tripartite But all [II A 18 i, iii-viii] except one [II A 18 ii] have loop at left arm Among the looped *ya* two varieties in the right arm can be noticed as [i] curved [II A 18 i] and [ii] slanting [II A 18 iii-viii]

Ra is shown by a straight vertical line [II A 19 i-v]

La is angular with elongated vertical firm base and hook with equal arms [II A 20 i-iii]

Va is of triangular shape [II A 21 ii-viii] except that in one case [II A 21 i] i has a long loop The triangular form of *va* has either sloping base [II A 21 ii, iv] or firm base [II A 21 iii, v, vi, vii] Here again three shapes can be traced out [i both verticals meet at a point [II A 21 ii,vi [ii] both verticals meet at two point [II A 21 iii,vi] and [iii] right vertical joi near top of the left vertical [II A.21 V]

Sibilants

Śa is flat topped with right arm elongat and left arm with foot-mark [II A 22 i]

Sha has equal arms with a horizon line joining both at the middle [II A.23 i,ii

Sa is equal armed Of this letter fo shapes can be marked [i] both arms m the head-mark at one point and the arm with small tail at back [II A 24 i,v,v [ii] right arm joins at the middle of upper curve of the left arm and the arm with a small tail at back [II A 24 iii, [iii] right arm joins at the middle of upper curve of the left arm and the arm has an angular back [II A 24 iv] [vi] both arms meet the head-mark at point and the left arm has an angular l [II A 24 ii]

this epigraph, this alphabet is rized to have the broadened hook t is used atleast in four shapes ht left arm and firm base [II A 25 i], ed left arm and firm base [II A 25 ii], rved left arm with slanting base .iii], in all these three varieties the not extended down beyond the base, l round bottom and hook slightly d down below the base [II A 25 iv]

Compound Letters

tial Gutturals

conjuncts made with initial *k* are . 1 i], *ktva* [II B 1 ii], *ksha* (II B 1 iii] *na* (II B 1 iv)

kta a slanting stroke is added to the the lower half of the vertical line of r *ka* To make the conjunct *ktva*, a is attached with *kta*, or, in other he stroke, used at the right of the alf of the vertical line of the alphabet nvert it into the compound letter *kta*, ded more downwards than the vertical d then two small lines, one horizontal other slanting which form an angle, ended with that stroke The letter s two horizontal strokes joined at the of the vertical line and then both the tal strokes are connected by a small line For *kshma*, the letter *ma* is d at the right corner of the conjunct

conjunct *gra* is formed by a slanting ttached to its right leg (II B 2)

itial Palatals

y are *chchha* [II B 3), *ñcha* (II B 4) (II B 5) For the former a double loop is joined by a small stem to the letter *cha* The conjunct *ñcha* is made by an angle opened to left as well as with a rough triangle and an ornamental stroke at the right of the triangle which meet with the base of the angle To make the compound letter *jña*, two lines originate at one point making an angle from the right end of the bottom horizontal stroke of the letter *ja* and then a hook coming from the right side joins the right slanting line

With initial N

The conjuncts formed with *n* as the first element are *nda* [II B 6 i] and *nya* [II B 6 ii). In the former the character *da* is made by two strokes, which form an acute angle opening to right, and the upper stroke is attached with the right corner of the base of *na* Of the second the letter, *ya* constitutes two curves, the lower one bigger in length and, the upper curve joins the right corner of the base of *na*

With initial Dentals

The conjuncts formed with initial *t* are *tka* [II B 7 i], *tta* (II B 7 ii), *tna* [II B 7 iii], *tpa* [II B 7 iv], *tma* (II B 7 v), *tya* (II B 7 vi), *tra* (II B 7 vii), *tva* (II B 7 viii), and *tsa* (II B 7 ix) For all the first five conjuncts the right arm of *ta* is extended downwards which served as one of the constituent parts of the second element of the conjunct and then the remaining components of the same are appended with the extended stroke Thus for *tka* a cross bar is added to the extended downward limb, *tta* has a slanting stroke coming from the left and that joins the right extended arm forming an acute angle, to make *tna* the extended limb is looped at the bottom, the compound letter *tpa* has an angle added to the base of the extended stroke and

KEY TO TABLE

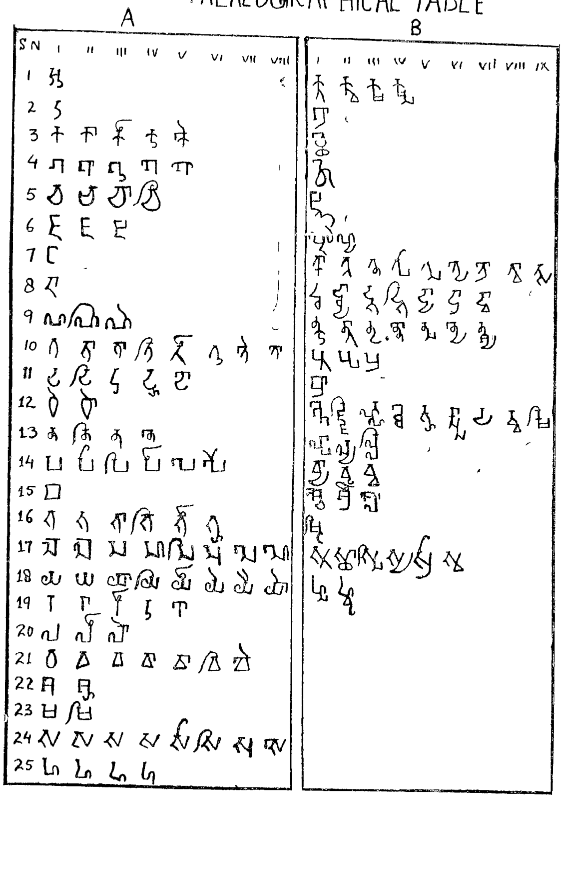
A

SN	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
1	ā							
2	u							
3	Ka	Kā	Kī	Ku	Kai			
4	ga	gā	gu	ge	go			
5	cha	cha	chā	chi				
6	ja	ja	jā					
7	ṭa							
8	ḍā							
9	ṇa	ṇi	ṇe					
10	ta	tā	tā	ti	tī	tu	tai	to
11	da	di	du	dū	do			
12	dhe	dho						
13	na	ni	nu	ne				
14	pa	pā	pi	pī	pe	pau		
15	ba							
16	bha	bha	bhā	bhi	bhī	bhū		
17	m	m	ma	mā	mi	mu	me	mo
18	ya	ya	yā	yi	yī	ye	yai	yo
19	ra	rā	rī	ru	ro			
20	la	lī	lo					
21	va	va	va	vā	vā	vi	vai	
22	śa	śū						
23	sha	shi						
24	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sā	Si	Su	Se
25	ha	ha	ha	ha				

B

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Kta	Ktva	ksha	Kshma					
grā								
chchhe								
ñcha								
jñā								
ṇḍā	ṇya							
tkā	tta	tna	tpā	tma	tye	tro	tvā	tsa
ddha	ddhyā	dbha	dbhi	dyā	drā	dvā		
nku	ntā	nda	nno	nma	nye	nśya		
pta	ppa	pra						
brā								
rgge	rje	rhma	rthe	rbhū	rmmā	rya	rva	rshi
lpā	lya	lli						
vyā	vri	vva						
śchai	śrī	ślo						
shṭi								
Sta	Sthā	Smi	Sya	Srā	Sva			
hma	hvri							

PALAEOGRAPHICAL TABLE



that opens to head and for the conjunct *tma* the lower part of the letter *ma* is attached with the extended arm *Ya* of *tya* is formed by two curves, the lower one bigger in size, which meet at the left point and the upper curve joins *ta* For *tra*, the right arm of the letter *ta* is turned to left and extended at a length forming an angle of 90° To make the conjuncts *tva* and *tsa*, the letters *va* and *sa* are attached with the right arm of the letter *ta*

The compound letters beginning with *da* are *ddha* (II B 8 i), *ddhya* (II B 8 ii), *dbha* (II B 8 iii), *dya* [II B 8 iv], *dra* (II B 8 vi) and *dva* (II B 8 vii) Of *ddha*, the letter *dha* is made by a vertical joined at the right end of *da* and an arch added to it at the left If this element occurs in a conjunct of three letters viz, *ddhya*, it becomes somewhat of a triangular shape In the compound letter *dbha*, *bha* of both the types is used With *dra* and *dva*, the letters *ra* and *va* are attached to the right end of the letter *da* The letter *ya*, represented as the last element of the conjunct is formed by two curves

The conjuncts with initial *na* are *nka* (II B 9 i), *nta* (II B 9 ii), *nda* (II B 9 iii), *nna* (II B 9 iv), *nma*, (II B 9 v), *nya* (II B 9 vi), and *nśya* (II B 9 vii) For *nka*, the loop of *na* is extended downwards vertically and then a cross bar is added to it To make the compound *nta* the loop of *na* is extended downwards slantingly in the south-west direction and then an oblique stroke is added at the right The letter *nda* has its loop extended down making an arch which opens to right The conjunct *nna* constitutes double loops For *nma* the loop is extended downwards and then the lower part of the letter *ma* is appended it In *nya* the loop makes a curve a then an arch - type stroke is added to The *ya* of *nśya* is composed of t curves and added to the right arm of whereas *śa* joins the loop of *na* at t centre of its head

With initial Labials

The conjuncts are *pta* [II B 10 i], *p* [II B 10 ii], *pra* [II B 10 iii] and *b* (II B 11) For *pta*, *ta* is added to t right corner of the letter *pa* The *ppa* inscribed by extending downwards the rig limb of the letter *pa* and then an angle attached to it In *pra*, the right arm is exte ded downwards and then a stroke sligh slanting joins it from the left The let *ra* as the second element of the compou letter *bra* it drawn in the same way as has its shape as a semi-vowel

With initial Semi-vowels

The conjuncts with initial *r* are *rg* (II B 12 i), *rja* (II B 12 ii), *rnna* (II B 12 ii *rtha* (II B 12 iv), *rbha* (II B 12 v), *rm* (II B 12 vi), *rya* (II B 12 vii), *rvva* (II B 12 vi and *rsha* (II B 12 ix) In all these conjun *r* is shown by a small straight vertic line drawn at the head of the second eleme of the conjunct but in the cases of *rg* and *rtha*, it is added on the top of t right arm, and for *rja* it is connect with the right end of the upper horizont arm

The compound letters with the fir element *l* are *lpa* (II B 13 i), *lya* (II B 13 and *lla* (II B 13 iii) Here the second lett is joined with *l* at its right corner of th base

The conjuncts with initial *va* are *vya* 3 14 i), *vri* (II B 14 ii), and *vva* (II B 14 iii) e again the second letter is appended i the right end of the base

h initial Sibilants

The conjuncts with the initial *ś* are *ścha* 3 15 i), *śra* (II B 15 ii) and *ślō* (II B 15 iii) with this element the second letter is iected at the base of its right arm

The compound letter made with the il *sh* is *shta* (II B 16), and here, too, the nd element is added to the right end s base

The conjuncts with *s* as the first ele- are *sta* [II B 17 i], *stha* [II B 17 ii], [II B 17 iii], *sya* [II B 17 iv], *sra* 17 v] and *sva* [II B 17 vi] Here again second letter is joined with the initial *s* he lower end of its right arm

initial H

The conjuncts beginning with this letter *hma* [II B 18 i], and *hvri* [II B 18 ii] and also the second letter is added to *h* right base

als

The medial *ā* is added here in five i] a hook added to the base of the vertical, ii] horizontal bar and a verti- troke are connected by making an angle and attached the right and iii] flouri- slant hook open to right directed north east, and iv] a vertical stroke according to the shapes of the letters, v] a bent stroke open to left The d form is used for *kā* [II A 3 ii], A 4 ii], *ḍā* [II A 8], *tā* [II A 10 i], *bhā* 16 iii], *yā* [II A 18 iii], *rā* [II A 19 ii], *tkā* [II B 7 i], *tvā* [II B 7 viii], *ddhyā* [II B 8 ii], *dyā* [II B 8 v], *drā* [II B 8 vi], *dvā* [II B 8 vii], *ntā* [II B 9 ii], *bia* [II B 11], *rmmā* [II B 12 vi], *vyā* [II B 14 i] and *sthā* [II B 17 ii] Its third form is preferred for *pā* [II A 14 ii], *sā* [II A 24 v], *tpā* [II B 7 iv] and *srā* [II B 17 v]

The fourth form, a downward vertical, is added on the right of the middle arm of *ja* [II A 6 iii] and *jña* [II B 5] And for *ma* [II A 17 iv] a stroke, which is directed upward from the base, is added with the right arm The fifth form, a slightly curved or bent stroke open to left, is added for the letter *ndā* [II A 6 i]

Here we can also mention that for adding medial *ā* to the conjuncts no single rule was adopted, neither was it based on the initial letter nor on the last letter We know that for the letter *sā* (II A 24 v) a flourished slant hook open to right directed from north east is used but for *sthā* [II B 17 ii] a horizontal bar and a vertical stroke are attached at the top of the right arm of the letter *sa* Was the stroke of medial *ā* appended with the conjuncts according to the last letter? But we also find that, although for the conjuncts *srā* [II B 17 v] and *svā* the medial *ā* stroke is from north-east, for the letters *rā* [II A 19 ii] and *vā* (II A 21 iv) it constitutes a horizontal bar and a vertical stroke attached the right

For the medial *i* a flourishing curve turned to left and extended downwards was used (II A 5 iv, II A 9 ii, II A 10 iv, II A 11 ii, II A 13 ii, II A 14 iii II A 16 iv, II A 18 iv, II A 21 vi, II A 23 ii, II A 24 vi, II B 8 iv, II B 12 ii, ix, II B 13 iii, II B 16, II B 17 iii) The medial *ī* is formed by a small circle

and a stroke first going slantingly in the north-west direction and then extended to right roughly horizontally (II A 3 iii, II A 10 v, II A 14 iv, II A 16 v, II A 18 v, II A 20 ii, II B 15 ii)

The medial *u* is written in three shapes i) hook open to left ii) vertical and iii) a curved line The hook is added with *ku* [II A 3 iv], *gu* [II A 4 iii], *tu* [II A 10,vi], *ru* [II A 19 iv], *nku* [II B 9 vi] A small vertical stroke is added at the base of the right vertical of *ma* [II A 17 vi], *sa* [II A 24 vii] and *ddhya* [II B 8 ii] We can notice another form of the vertical stroke to be used for *u* in case of *nu* (II A 13 iii) when the end of the loop is extended down vertically The curved line is used at the right side of the base of the letter *da* [II A 11 iii] for making it *du* The medial *ū* is formed by a double hook facing in the opposite direction such as in the letters *dū*, [II A 11 iv] *bhū* [II A,14 vi], *śū* [II A 22 ii], *rbhū* [II B 12 v]

The medial *ē* has two forms i] an angle of 90° formed by a horizontal bar and a vertical stroke, attached to the left and ii] a flourishing stroke directed from the north west The first is used for *gē* [II A 4 iv], *nē* [II A 13 iv) *pē* [II A 14 vi], *mē* [II A 17 vii], *sē* [II A 24 viii], *chchha* [II B 3], *tyē* [II B 7 vi], *nyē* [II B 9 vi], *rggē* [II B 12 i] and *rthē* [II B 12 iv] The second form is noticed in *nē* [II A 9 iii], *dhē* [II A 12 i] and *yē* [II A 18 vi] The medial *ai* is written in three types with two limbs, one flourishing stroke directed from the north west and an angle of 90° formed by a horizontal bar and vertical stroke, added to left and ii] two flourishing strokes directed from the north west and iii] an angle and a horizontal stroke, both added at the left of the letter The first form is seen in *kai* [II A 3 v], *tai* [II A 10 vi] and *vai* [II A 21 vii] The second shape is noticed in *yai* [II A 18 vii] Its third type occurs in the letter *śchai* [II B 15 i]

The medial *Ō* has its three forms 1) two angles each at a side (ii) an angle at right and a flourishing stroke on the head directed from the north-west and (iii) an angle added to left and a hook extended straight towards down attached with the right arm of the letter The first form is used in letters *gō* (II A 4 v), *dō* (II A vii) *tō* (II A 10 viii), *nnō* (II B 15 iii) The second shape occurs in *dhō*(II A 12,ii),*yō* (II A 18 viii) and *lō* (II A 20 iii) Third form is known in the letter *ma* [II A 17 viii] The medial *au* constitutes three strokes, an angle added at left and two flourishing strokes at the head one directed from the north-east and the other from north-west This can be marked in the letter *pau* (II A 14 vi)

The medial *ri* is added at the right of the base It is a hook open to right It is seen in letters *vri*(II B,14 ii) and *hvri* (II B 18 ii) [18]

Foot-Notes

1 Vide my paper, 'The Date of Ārang Copper Plate Inscription of Bhimasēna II-A Review, *JOI*, XXIII, No 4, pp 335 ff

EI, IX, p 342

Ibid

A H Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p 163

Ibid, p 155

Ibid, p 162

Ibid, p 155

Ibid, p 163

Ibid, pp 163-4

Ibid, pl xiv b 10

EI, XXV, p 268

Thanks to my friend Dr T P Verma for going through this paper

22 LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF CHIMUKA-SATAVAHANA AND HIS PREDECESSORS

P V Parabrahma Sastı

Fındspot

In course of our epıgraphıcal survey ın the Karımnagar dıstrıct, A P, I had the opportunıty to survey the hıllock called *Munulagutta* (—hıllock of the sages) on the rıght bank of Gōdāvarī near the vıllage Kapparaopet ın the Peddapallı taluk Though we could not dıscover any epıgraphıc matetıal as such on the flat top of the hıllock we could notıce four rock-beds ın a cavern on the steep edge of the hıllock, at an altıtude of about hundred metres, facıng the rıver Very near thıs cavern we could pıck up a few Sātavāhana coıns and some mıcrolıths There are some more caverns on that steep edge of the hıllock, whıch we could not reach These findıngs, make ıt clear that the antıquıty of the place goes back to the prehıstorıc perıod and contınued upto the Sātavāhana perıod, though not later Wıth regard to the rock-cut beds, on the basıs of sımılar caverns wıth beds notıced ın the dıstrıcts of Madurai Tınnevelly and other places, as reported ın the early Annual Reports on South Indıan Epıgraphy [1907 to 1910 and 1927], ıt ıs assumed that they were retırıng places for the ascetıcs, lıkely of the Jaına faıth and hence ıts name *Munula-guṭṭa*.

Adjacent to the hıllock on ıts northern sıde, on the rıght bank of the Gōdāvarī there ıs a vast area called Kota-Lıngāla, where ancıent mounds, pottery, etc are notıced ın abundance Quıte ınterestıngly my frıend Srı S Naraharı, an officeı ın the Postal Dep Karımnagar, secured several coıns as surfa finds ın thıs ancıent sıte These coıns l longed to the Sātavāhana perıod bearıng gends such as *Srı Chhımuka*, *Chhımu Sātavā*, *Sātavāha* and *Sātakaṁnı* Another rıes wıth legends *Raño Gōbhadasa* and *Ra Sāmagōpasa* ıs also found ın thıs collectı Exceptıng a few coıns of the last mentıon chıef, whıch are of lead fabrıc, all the re ıncludıng some of thıs chıef, are of pc and copper They are eıther square rectangular ın shape The present pa ıs ıntended to hıghlıght the ımportance the coıns of Chhımuka-Sātavāhana

Coıns of Chhımuka-Sātavāhana

They are sıx ın number Only one c coıntaıns the legend [-ñō] *Sırı Chhımuka* another *ıı Chhımuka sāta*[*vā*] Theref the full legend mıght have been *Raño Chhımuka-Sātavahana* Theır measuremen the sıdes ıs between 1 4 and 1 6 cms T weıght varıes between 1 25 and 2 13 g Out of the sıx only one coın ıs of p and the remaınıng five of copper fabrıc

Physıcal descrıptıon

Obverse

On the obverse the coıns bear symbols of Elephant facıng left, four c wıth trunk hangıng and two wıth t upraısed The fabrıc and the sıze of former type ıs slıghtly dıfferent from latter type

Of the former type one coin contains the back of the elephant the well veloped symbol of Śrīvatsa, the remain- , three being without that symbol Only on the potin coin a tree with three visible branches on the left is noticed before the elephant The legends on all coins are on the back of the elephant and they read

1	[ño] Sri Chhimuka	1 coin [with tree symbol], Potin	
2	Sri Chhimuka Sā	1 "	copper [above Śrīvatsa]
3	[Si]ri Chhimuka Sāta[vā]	1 "	
4	Sri Chhimu[ka]	1 "	

verse Taking the above order

1) Three petals of the Ujjain symbol, two svastikas, and another single petal to the right
2) damaged, but Ujjain symbol and one svastika are noticeable ,
3) damaged , but Ujjain symbol surmounted by cresent and svastikas are noticeable
4) Ujjain symbol and two svastikas

The 5th and 6th coins having the ·phant with raised trunk seem to be together of a different series as their size d weight (32 grains) and the palaeography the legend indicate

Obverse

On the back of the elephant some mbol-like triangle with its base upwards nd above it the legend runs in an arch, iich reads *Siri Chhimuka Sāta*

verse Ujjain symbol surmounted by cre- ent and six svastikas in smaller size than at of the above group

Obverse Same as (5) and legend *Chhi]mukasa*

everse Ujjain symbol surmounted by cre- ent and four svastikas

Observations Historians generally hold that palaeography of the legends on stray coins cannot contribute any significant factor in deciding the chronology, although it is possible to some extent in the case of inscriptional palaeography But when the features appear so conspicuous that they cannot escape even our casual notice there is no reason to ignore them altogether Even dated records are sometimes to be redated on palaeographic considerations Now we are having before us the letters of Chhimuka himself It is needless to state that the words *Chhimuka* or *Chimuka* are the Prakrit variants of Simuka In the Naneghat label inscription it is found as Simuka' As these coins are found on the surface of the site, archaelogical stratigraphy need not be considered The other part of their study now remains with the epigraphists Thus, I justify myself in presenting this paper before eminent epigraphists The features which call our attention may be stated as follows

1 The letter *Chhi* in all the six coins is written with two distinct loops in the bottom, with a bold vertical This feature is noticeable in the Brāhmī characters only upto the beginning of the Christian era

2 The letter *ma* in *mu* is not so conspicuous even in the Naneghat label inscriptions or that of Nāganikā. It is a late feature of the early Brāhmī characters.

3 In the second group of two coins we notice that the horizontal cross stroke in the letter *ka* exhibits a slight upward bend in one case and a downward bend in the other, which is again a late feature of early Brāhmī.

4 The medial *i* in *si*, *ri* and *chhi* retains the downward elongation with upward curve, a feature assignable to 2nd and 1st centuries B C after which it took a leftward curve at the top.

5 Elongated curve to the right of the bottom end of *sa* which is conspicuously noticeable from the Ist century B C or even later as in Rudradāman's inscription.

Basing on these palaeographic features which decidedly belong to a latter period than 2nd century B C and earlier than 1st century A D, it is reasonable to ascribe these coins of Simuka Sātavāhana, the first king of the line, to some time later than 50 B C.

Scholars like Dr Sircar have already given their opinion in this regard[2]. The palaeographic features pointed out above furnish further evidence to the same view. Simuka's period is now wavering between the limits of vast range. Some scholars even now believe that he was a junior contemporary of Aśōka and place him in the first part of 3rd century B C. Irrespective of the records of known dates comparable in this context, we are forced to bring down these characters of Chhimuka to the second half of the first century B C, that is, nearly two centuries later than the Aśōkan edicts.

Secondly, the provenance of these coins of the founder of the dynasty in the Karimnagar district adds one more evidence to the fact that the early kings of the family had their home in this part of Andhra. This fact has already been proved by the discovery of the coins of *Sri Sadavahana*, a predecessor of Simuka, at Kondapur in the Medak district[3], and Hyderabad. That part of Andhra in which the modern districts of Nizamabad, Medak and Karimnagar are spread, along the river Gōdāvarī, seems to be the homeland of the Sātavāhanas.

Coins, which are believed to be of low denomination cannot be supposed to have migrated beyond the territory of their issuing authority. This becomes more so in the case of the founder of a dynasty who must have spent the early part of his career as a subordinate ruler or general under some sovereign king, holding a limited area as his own principality. It is quite reasonable to believe that the present Peddapalli taluk in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, the findspot of these coins, was also included in the home territory of Chhimuka Sātavāhana. It is also noteworthy that extensive Sātavāhana sites at places like Pedabankuru, Dhulikaṭṭa and the present Kota-Lingala, have been recently discovered and excavations at the former two sites are in progress. Some thousands of Sātavāhana coins have been unearthed at these places and thousands more are likely to come out. As said before, the present collection of sixty coins is only a surface find.

In the present collection there are more types bearing the legends (a) [*Ra*]-*Gōbhadasa* and (b) [*Ra*]*ñō Samagōpasa*

These are of copper fabric and square in shape with side 1 5 cm and weight approximately 38 grains All are die-struck

On the obverse Three arched hill, bow and arrow, and tree in some cases Legend [-] *ñō Gōbhadasa*

Reverse is blank on all these coins The ıeography of these letters is decidedly ıer than that of the Simuka coins (impre-n No 6)

Some copper and some potin, square, 1 5,cm, weight between 50 and 76 grains These coins are in three kinds according to their obverse symbols Some contain six-armed circle, triangle-headed symbol , and arrow On some coins we notice svastika also in addition to the above On the third variety we notice six-armed circle, tree and bull

Legend *Rañō Samagōpasa*

On the reverse all these coins have *nandipāda* (or *triratna)* symbols sur-ıding a double circle in the centre palaeography of the legend in this case is earlier than that on the Simuka ıs The letters *ga* with angular top, *ma* ı round bottom and *pa* with long left ıcal are some of the early features

These two types [a] and [b] are ascri-le to some rulers who preceded the ıvāhanas According to the Purānas we w that the Śungas and the Kānvas e their predecessors Among the former some later rulers had their capital at Vidiśā as evidenced by the Besnagar Garuda pillar inscription set up by Heliodorus, the Messenger of the Yavana king Antialcidas during the reign of Bhāgabhadra[4] The king is identified with Bhadaighōsha, the fifth king of the Śunga family In addition to these he had the the names of Andhraka, Āidraka, Bhadraka, of which the first name Andhraka significantly indicates his association with the Andhra country He might have served as viceroy in the Andhra province under his father Thus I am inclined to identify *Gōbhadra* of our coins with that fifth Śunga king Bhadraghōsha or Bhāgabhadra According to several authorities this king is supposed to have ruled some time before 100 B C Although his regnal period is very small according to the Purānas, owing to his association with Āndhradēśa and probaly with its contiguous provinces, in his early career he became popular in the Deccan Secondly, the empty reverse may also indicate that he issued those coins while he was a prince

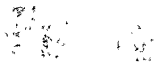
About the other series, that is, of Samagōpa, we are reminded of another king Samābhaga, the penultimate king of the same Śunga family, who ruled during the first quarter of the first century B C The Purāṇas also state that Simuka came to power after defeat ng the Kāṇvas and the remaining Śunga kings[5] Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that Simuka succeeded the last rulers of the Śunga family The Kāṇvas, as held by several scholars, could not establish their authority in the entire Śunga kingdom The latter were still exercising power in the provinces of Vidiśā and the south These coins of Gōbhadra



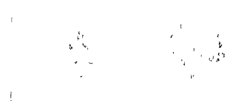
1



2



3



4



5



6



1



2



3



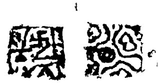
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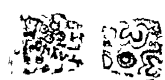
6



5



7



8

amagōpa thus furnish the numismatic ce in this regard Samagōpa, though entical with Sambhāga, the ninth might have been a near successor to

/e have a still stronger evidence The f Sātavāhana (No 87) has exactly the everse of that of Samagōpa (No 7) On verse also the triangle-headed symbol, ka, and a tree before a standing bull her symbols borrowed by Sātavāhana the symbolism of Samagōpa. This coin of Sātavāhana furnishes the isive evidence for the change over litical power from Samagōpa or his liate successor to Sātavāhana

riginally the early Sātavāhanas, namely, Sātavāhana of this unique coin and published by Prof V V Mirashi, imuka served the Śungas as subordi-

hey were holding their original princi- in the present Karimnagar, Nizamabad, k, and Adilabad districts of A P with capital at some place like Kondapur, an or the present site on the bank e Gōdāvarī which are about 200 kms from each other It is not unlikely that coastal-Krishnā-Gōdāvarī region with akaḍa as sub-capital was also included in territory as indicated by the Guntupalli iphs[6] Subsequent to their becoming eign rulers, owing to the increasing of the kingdom they might have d the capital to Pratishṭhāna, parti- y to check the invasion of the foreign , the Śakas and others Dhanakataka ie Krishnā bank is about 280 kms Koṭa-Lingāla, the findspot of these whereas Pratishṭhāna is more than ms distant

Before concluding this paper it is worth recalling the importance of the hillock called Munula-guṭta situated by the side of this site, where,as already said, there are some rock-cut beds in a cavern and some Sātavāhana coins were collected by this author Unfortunately the coins are not in a state of good preser- vation and their legends cannot be deci- phered properly excepting the letters *Si, ri* and *sa*, above the elephant symbol It is well attested by Jain literature and tradi- tion,[7] that the early members of the Sātavāhanas patronized Jainism It is not unreasonable to ascribe the Jain vestiges of the Munula-guṭṭa to the time of Chi- muka, or even earlier The Telugu name *Munula-gutta* must be also as old as the rock-beds in the cavern

Conclusion

1 It is for the first time that Simuka, the first sovereign king of the Sātavāhana family, is made known to the scholarly world by his own material

2 The palaeography of the legend being decidedly of the first century B C, early theories in this regard which place him in 3rd or 2nd century B C, are proved to be untenable Simuka is to be placed some time after 50 B C

3) The find-spot of these coins being in the Karimnagar district, the fact that the Sātavāhanas were the indigenous rulers of Andhra is well founded

4) The tradition based on the Jain literature, that the early members of the Sātavāhana rulers patronized Jainism is also proved by the

cavern with rock cut beds on the Munulagutta near which these coins are found These rock beds are supposed to be the retiring places of the Jaina ascetics where they used to practice *Sallēkha* in their last stage of life

5) Gōbhadra of the other series of coins is identifiable with Bhadraghōsha or Andhraka, the fifth ruler of the Śunga family, Similarly Samagōpa is identifiable with Samā bhāga, the ninth Śunga king or hi near successor Therefore it seem certain that the Śungas had thei authority in Andhra also

6] The similarity of symbolism on th coins of Samagōpa and Siri Sāta vāhana points to the fact that th Sātavāhanas were the political succ essors of the family of Samagōpa very likely the Śungas of Vidiśā

Foot Notes

1 Arch Sur W Ind, V, pp 60 ff
2 Select Inscriptions, p 189
3 *JNSI* Vol VII, pp 1-4, *Ibid*, IX-2 pp 5ff
4 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p 98
5 Kāṇvāyanāms = tatō = bhṛityāh Suśarmāṇaṁ prasahya tam।
Śungānām ch = aiva yach = ch = ēsham kshapayitvā balam tadā॥

Pargiter, *Dy of Kali Age*, p 38

6 Dr R Subramanyam *Guntupalli Brahmī Inscription of Khāravela* (A P Epi Series 3, 1968)
7 *JBBRAS*, *X*, pp 129 ff

escriptive Catalogue of the Prakrit and ṛit Inscriptions in the Epigraphy Gallery, n Museum by Shyamalkanti Chakra- Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1977, pp 20, Price Rs 15 00

The Indian Museum, which is one of wo largest museums of India, posse- a large number of lithic records and r-plate charters which are displayed re-organised gallery which came into nce in the fifties The number als and sealings runs into thousands those, the present catalogue takes e of twenty-two inscriptions, seventeen hem stone inscriptions and the rest i-plate grants, and eleven seals and ıgs, four of them being Harappan

'his booklet, running into just twenty , (inclusive of 6-page bibliography and), gives a brief account of the epigra- and glyptic records as displayed in Museum together with information about ript, language, date where given, pro- ice, registration number and size In v cases short notes showing palaeo- ical peculiarities and scriptal deve- ent are added The plates are good he charts showing development of rī and Bengali scripts given at the re useful from the point of view of eneral readers

t would have been useful to give nces to the Journals or other publi- is where the inscriptions and seals and gs in question originally appeared The non-inclusion of Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha's *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, which is still the most dependable book on Indian palaeography, in the list of books on palaeo- graphy at p 16 is a serious omission

The *Catalogue* serves the purpose of illustrating the great value of the epigraphical material deposited in the Indian Museum The publication of a full catalogue of this material at an early date is the minimum that scholars can rightfully expect from the Indian Museum and the authorities would do well to take it up seriously and place this important material in the hands of scholars before long

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Hindu Iconography by S P Tewari Published by Agam Kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 1979, pp i-xiv+117 and 38 illustra- tions, price Rs 100

The publication of Hindu Iconography, based on anthological verses, literature, art and epigraphs, heralds the arrival, on the Indian academic arena, of a young and erudite scholar who is happily aware of the need to declare a moratorium on over-indul- gence in minute and hair-splitting chronologi- cal and genealogical details of Indian history and is keen to break new ground by subject- ing the copious epigraphical source-materials available to fresh study and newer interpreta- tions As the author has himself modestly

pointed out, he has derived his initial inspiration for his maiden venture from an article written many years ago by that veteran Indologist C Sivaramamurthi

In the introductory chapter (pp 1-5), the author draws the attention of his readers to the rather cryptic invocations which are to be met with in pre-Gupta literature and epigraphs In chapter 2 (pp 6-11) are presented the iconographic gleanings we get from the benedictory verses in the epigraphs belonging to the Gupta period Chapters 3 (pp 12-59) and 4 (pp 60-75) are respectively devoted to the copious iconographic details that are available in Hindu inscriptions as far as the principal deities Śiva and Vishnu are concerned In the last chapter (Ch V, pp 76-95) the author quotes, translates and discusses a number of verses which stand ample testimony to the ingenuity of poets who exploit the well known iconographic attributes of principal deities for enriching the saga of Sanskrit poetry A useful bibliography, an equally useful word index and 38 well produced illustrations are appended to the book

Tewari's book should serve as a beckoner to such scholastic aspirants as are interested in blazing new trails The author has touched only the periphery of what is certainly an unlimited field In particular, similar useful works could be and should be written on the regional iconographic information we get in plenty from the regional languages, particularly of the South The Jaina, Hindu and, to a much lesser degree, the Buddhist inscriptions of the South contain numerous such interesting prose and verse compositions which, when studied in the fashion of Tewari, could well bring to light many significant regional differences and subtleties

The author Shri Tewari has put th scholarly public in deep debt The productio of the book is of a good standard an does not leave much to be desired It ma however, be pointed out that diacritic types should have been used to great perfection and the proofs read more car fully, though these defects have not reduce the intrinsic worth and merit of this laudab venture

K V RAMESH

The Imperial Pāndyas – Mathemati Reconstructs the Chronology by and publi hed by N Sethuraman, Kumbhakōnam, 197 pp 252 Price Not given

Shri Sethuraman, whose earlier wor 'The Cholas-Mathematics Reconstructs th Chronology' the present reviewers had th privilege of reviewing in the previous numb of this journal, has brought out another wor of great utilitarian value, viz 'The Imperi Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs th Chronology' The approach here is basical the same as the one so successfully adopte by the author in his efforts to improve upo the earlier contributions to Chōḷa chronolog It must, however, be noted that, unlike in th case of the Chōlas, the epigraphical materi left behind by the later Pāndyas is much le copious and much less helpful, hence, great credit attaches to Shri Sethuraman's prese efforts

The problems pertaining to the chron logy of the later Pāndyas are so very bafflir that not many scholars have made bold tackle the subject after the pioneering effor of that redoubtable master- historian, Nil kanta Sastry The present work of Sh

:thuraman, based as it is on astronomical :tails furnished by the epigraphs and the ıfailing science of Mathematics, is thus a ost welcome addition to the meagre research ıitings available for the history of the āṇdyas.

Shri Sethuraman's main virtue as a his-orical chronologist lies in his sweeping and omprehensive knowledge of Tamil inscrip-ons and his readiness to set aside age-old ıethods of study, wherever they are found › be unhelpful or outmoded, and to adopt nınhıbıted methods instead A close scru-ny of his work on the Pāṇdyas shows that e has factually succeeded in considerably :ducing the lower and upper limits of the eriods in which the the accessions of the ıter Pāndya rulers must have occurred

The author does not deal with the roblems of the chronology of the early 'āṇdyas, obviously because of the scaricity f details of dates, he has, therefore, erforce confined himself to the chronology f the Pāṇdyas who held sway between 190 and 1380 A D He commences with a liscussion on the probable date of the 'āṇdyan civil war (c 1166 A D) and proceeds hence to discuss, reign by reign, the probable lates of accession and termination All he available imformation such as *praśastis*, oyal titles, astronomical details, etc , are narshalled together in postulating revised lates The credibility of his findings is urther strengthened because of the usage f very recent epigraphical discoveries

For the convenience of the reader, ;hri Sethuraman summarises his discussions n a nut shell at the end of each chapter ;ome important episodes such as the accession of Ravivarman Kulaśē khara, and the sequence of the occupation of the northern portions of the Tamil country by him, are skillfully dealt with by the author His arguements in favour of his postulation that the five anointed kings of the Pāṇdyan kingdom were in concealment at the time of Malik Kafur's invasion of the Tamil Country in 1311 A D are persuasive and carry conviction He is also effective in refuting the theory that Sundarapāṇdya was a parricide In fact, his well founded con-clusion is that there was cordial relationship between Vīrapāṇdya and his brother Sundara-pāṇdya and that the brothers were loyal to their father Māravarman Kulaśēkhara right till the last mentioned ruler's natural death

In arriving at the conclusion that Rājarājan Sundarapāndya was the illegiti-mate son of Kulaśēkhara, Shri Sethuraman has critically examined the accounts given by the Muhammadan chroniclers such as Amir Khusru, Ziaud Din Barni and wasaf, pointing out the conflicting and contradi-ctory nature of their statements He has taken the help of Gangādēvi's *Madhurā-vijayam* in order to show that the Pāndyan power was not extinguished even after the Madurai Sultanate was routed by Kampaṇa of Vijayanagara

The numerous chronological tables, inserted at the appropriate places in the text, as also the appended chronological list of revised dates of the Pāndyan kings add clarity to a subject which is otherwise heavy reading material Nevertheless, the author does indulge at times in digressions and the narration is sometimes marred by the cluttering of too many facts But, in

a highly technical work, which deals with such a dry subject as chronology, the absence of style and flourish is no desideratum

The reviewers would like to stress here the great need for subjecting the inscriptions of other ruling dynasties of the South to similar painstaking scrutiny from a chronological angle The histories of the South Indian kingdoms are so fatefully intertwined that a partial revision of the dates will render historical correlations more difficult Scholars working on the chronological history of Karnataka and Andhra would do well to take their cue from Shri Sethuraman and subject the epigraphs from those regions to a fresh chronological appraisal

In conclusion, the reviewers would like to congratulate Shri Sethuraman on his painstaking and penetrating analysis of a very difficult subject and for bringing out this reliable source book He has succeeded in presenting to the world of historians a much better and imporved chronological picture of the later Pāṇḍyas

K V Ramesh

C R Srinivasan

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